ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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of THEMS-Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, Fire copies will be sent to one address for TES

ass, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to lirected, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square inand three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-

entagination to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial ittee, but are not responsible for any of the debts the paper, viz :-- FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WESTELL PRILLIPS.

To the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of

very question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Manhind.

SLAVES.

HORSES

a of Alex

Massachusetts protests against thus delaying the

rounding influences, certain associations and pre-dilections, which carried him inevitably to that decision. He did not bring to the case strong

instincts of liberty and justice.'

Is a man, thus biased by education, associations,

predilections and surrounding influences, 'as free, inpartial and independent as the lot of humanity will admit'?

Your Committee had always supposed that Mas-

sachusetts required her judges to bring instincts to the bench favorable to liberty and justice, and not

against it. They think so now. Your Committee do not intend to sit in judgment

God, tramples down the barriers of the constitution

and the rights of man.

Yet the people mobbed no one for aiding it. But the people do look on it as sinful and criminal to volunteer in such service. They cannot respect those who do it. They loathe to see or approach

him who has received the price of his brother as they do the executioner, and cannot bear to see him in any office of honor or trust within the gift of Massachusetts.

Judge Loring has sinned against the moral senti-

ment of Massachusetts; that under a law which

ment of Massachusetts; that under a law which the conscience of Massachusetts abbors, which her Christianity repudiates, which her reason pro-nounces unconstitutional, and against law and evidence, he has made a man a slave. The people therefore demand his removal from the office of

Judge of Probate.

This doctrine of absolute accountability to the

people is no new doctrine in Massachusetts. It is as old as the Constitution itself.

as old as the Constitution itself.

All power residing originally in the people, and being derived from them, the several magistrates and officers of government vested with authority, whether legislative, executive or judicial, are their substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them.—Declaration of Rights, sect. 5.

The whole theory of our government is, then, that of absolute accountability to the people. The people have constituted themselves afone the gnard-

that of absolute accountability to the people. The people have constituted themselves alone the guardians of their rights and interests. They appoint agents, not to contravene, but to do their will, as made known by their laws, their resolves, and their Constitution.

Reasons of State, therefore, demand that every

officer who, through incapacity, or heedlessness, or bias, or moral taint, or any other cause, has lost the confidence of the people, should be re-

It is sufficient for the Committee to know that

of Probate to dabble in?

BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 6, 1855.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. B. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

EF 'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions 70 SECURE THE PERFETURY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave-trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES-OR engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THERESY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PURPET-UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'- John Quincy Adams

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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THE LIBERATOR.

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F Ridicule is sometimes more potent than arguent; and this conviction has led our correspondent Milton' to see what virtue there may be in a little saire, effectively applied in the case of Dr. Adams, the norse than heathenish pastor of Essex Street Church.

AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM.

Not so fast, not so fast, neighbor Garrison ! I read our LIBERATOR every week, and being a good-natured man, wish to keep you right. You are out upon our Rev. Dr. Adams for his 'South Side View of Slavery.' am, on the contrary, delighted with his view of that ev. lent institution.

How happy those slaves are! free from all care, valled with no avarice or ambition, laboring just reing under the shade of the palmetto every day, froling with one another by night, and living on the fat the land : dressed also in the height of fashion, and the finest broadcloths, especially on Sundays and lidays, with gold chains around their necks, gold vatches in their pockets, gold-headed canes in their nds, and all the ornaments of wealth and refinement. hey are, of all people on earth, the most happy,' with Houston. Why should they be such fools as to un away from that Eden, and emigrate to the cold and fortless North? You ignorant abolitionists would uswer, that they have a natural and unconquerable e of liberty. But one of them told the good and saent Rev. Doctor that he didn't wish to be free; so that

I cannot account for their folly but by phrenology and physiognomy, which teach that Negroes have large cretiveness, like foxes, and therefore have a natural and irresistible propensity to run away and hide. This eretiveness often gives their masters great trouble in ing them up, to keep them from suffering. How kind in the masters to advertise them, even offering a arge reward for them, dead or alive, wishing, if they are alive, to feed and clothe and take care of them, and if dead, to have the consolution of mourning over their mains, and giving them a Christian burial! Noble and humane Christians! how they grace and adorn

How cruel in Washington and others to deprive their slaves of such affectionate care, by making them free!

The only excuse for that great and good man is, that he undoubtedly labored under a kind of abolition insanity. Well, Uncle Tom's Cabin is torn down. How ridiculous and a surd to believe that those pious and exemplary Christian masters, who pray in their families, causes, short of that, that are sufficient in the mind of the people, the power is practically annihilated.

It is precisely the case in which the people see that the man, in person, mind or morals, is such as they do not wish to retain in their service, that this reserved and worthy Doctor's Views will mightily engighten the Northern mind—at least conquer some of their foolish prejudices against slavery. I hope he will vist Utah this spring, and give us a West Side View of Polygamy. He knows the Holy Bible sanctions this institution as much as slavery. The renowned antelluvian Lamech, the venerable patriarchs, the illusious Moses, the pious David, (a man after God's own eart,) or the glorious Solomon, the wisest man on earth, all had just as many wives as they pleased, beides concubines. That was Liberty, Free Trade, and Sailors' Rights. But here, in this cold, codfish, icenaking State, a mighty fuss is made, if a man has only woor three wives, or simply keeps a concubine. I ope the Reverend Doctor, on his return from Utah, sill write another book, and endeavor to conquer this holish prejudice. This is also important for the presrvation of the Union. The rapidly increasing Mornites are becoming formidable, and may secede, uniess this prejudice can be conquered. As the great Mr. ebster saved the Union before, the Reverend Doctor may render the same service now, and go down to postrity hand in hand with that distinguished atatesn s, however, he will be violently opposed, especially by

hank husband : then leave the people to infer the pleasures and advantages of polygamy.

Now, Sir, as you and your abolition adherents are th desnright infidels as to reject the Bible authority very, you will undoubtedly have the impudence reject the same authority for polygamy and concuge. But, Sir, great names for talent, learning and such as the Rev. Dr. Adams, the Rev. Dr. Dewand the profound President Lord, are not feathers, d you can blow away with your polluted breath. ng become conspicuous as apologists for slavery, must and will, even to be consistent, now become gists for the other Abrahamic example. They have their hand to the plough, and if they now look back, are not fit for the stations they fill, and they may eared I will never again defend them against your

structing the children, another attending another sick

Note. What an ungrateful and ungodly wretch that fileman in Montgomery, Alabama, who lately said to therner, 'I have just been reading the book of Adams. This man is either a fool or a knave, or t, though I think the fool predominates. Why, the has seen more virtue in slavery, during the few while he was in Georgia, housed up as an invalid, than lare seen in all my life. We don't pretend down that slavery is right; we only claim it as the best fate of things we can have just now. But this holy man REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

Shall the poor trembling suppliant for the God-given boon of freedom plead on the soil of Massa-chusetts under the terror of dirks and pistols? What though the Judge who permits this be a United States Commissioner? Is it fit that he also should be a Massachusettts Jadge of Probate! The duties of the office of United States Commis-We make the following extracts from the very able and conclusive majority Report of the Committee on Federal Relations, in favor of the removal of Judge Loring from the office which he now pollutes :-

A Judge of Probate may do many things, either as a citizen or as a Commissioner, which would render him unfit for the office of Judge of Probute, and yet not render him liable to removal by im-penchment. Hence the reservation of the right of

removal by address.

The power of removal by address, under chapter III., article 1, of the Constitution, was intended to reach cases in which judges might not be subject to improvement.

mpeachment.
The individual holding office may not be guilty of crime, gross immorality or official misbehavior, so as to be liable to removal for such cause on trial, and to judgment on impeachment, and yet, from gross or rash measures, or loathsomeness of person, or general offensiveness to the community, or from loss of the public confidence, ought to be removed by address, which is without trial or

The causes for articles, trial and judgment, on impeachment, are limited. Removal by address, besides all these causes, which, from various reasons, it may be best not to make the subject of reasons, it may be best not to make the subject of solemn trial and severe judgment that involve the disgrace of convictiou, with the penalty of disqualification for office, and may extend to incapacitating from any office of honor or trust, extends to a map the wide range.

much wider range.

This is a wise constitutional provision, the only one, which (the judiciary not being elective) holds the judiciary accountable to the people. It is shield Mr. Loring from the charge of wrong intennot limited to cases of official misconduct. To thus restrict it, is to nullify it. A servant is not the respect of the respective properties of the respective properties. beyond the reach of the people, merely by keeping clear of criminal misconduct. They have reserved the power of simply dismiss-

ing from service.

This power is in no danger of being abused, being restricted to cases in which the House, chosen from the people in towns, the Senate, elected in the larger districts, the Council, selected from the peo-ple by a joint ballot of these two branches, and the Governor, chosen by the whole body of the

To omit to exercise it, from the fact that it might be alused, would be a dangerous precedent; for it would be a practical recognition of a limitation to a

be abused, would be a dangerous precedent: for it would be a practical recognition of a limitation to a right of the people.

Mr. Loring, in his protest, denies the practical existence of the power, by denying the right of the people to exercise it. He denies this right, because he says there is no good cause, or what amounts to the same thing, it would be a extreme injustice and want of equity. The fallacy is here. He declares that no cause for removal is good, unless it amount to official misconduct. Whereas, unless there he causes, short of that, that are sufficient in the mind of the people, the power is practically annihilated.

Your Committee do not intend to sit in judgment upon the motives which brought Judge Loring to volunteer to act as judge in a case similar to one which Mr. Benjamin F. Hallett is said to have refused to try. They do not intend to sit in judgment upon the motives which brought Judge Loring to volunteer to act as judge in a case similar to one which Mr. Benjamin F. Hallett is said to have refused to try. They do not intend to sit in judgment upon the motives which brought Judge Loring to volunteer to act as judge in a case similar to one which Mr. Benjamin F. Hallett is said to have refused to try. They do not intend to sit in judge intended to the propose which Mr. Benjamin F. Hallett is said to have refused to try. They do not intend to sit in judge into the motives which brought Judge Loring to volunteer to act as judge in a case similar to one which Mr. Benjamin F. Hallett is said to have refused to try. They do not intend to sit in judge into the motives which brought Judge Loring to solve the motives that bro

as much as slavery. The renowned ante- exercised for sufficient cause. The causes are more

extensive than those for impeachment.

But, it is asked, Is there no limit to this power There is the necessity for the deliberate action of four distinct branches of the government. Beyond this, there is none. For an office is not a valuable property, which one may sell or devise, or which, y virtue of ownership, he has a right to hold for himself. It is a post of service of the public. The restriction, therefore, is left with these, representative holdes of the people themselves, who along

tive bodies of the people themselves, who alone can suffer by any misuse of the power. The check on this power of removal of judges by address is this well-balanced judgment of four distinct bodies, chosen from the people. Thus constitutionally restricted, it is certain it will not wantonly, capriciously act to its own detriment.

This is a question of interest and conscience in the breast of the State itself. It undertakes to

charge, prove and judge of nothing against the in-dividual. He is neither accused, nor necessarily to be heard. He has no interest of property or repu-tation for which he has a right to intervene, save uch weak women as Mrs. Stowe and her abolition sisters, I would suggest, with great deference, that he take like any other citizen.

What, then, is sufficient cause to justify these

he same calm and candid view of polygamy that he has hodies themselves for removal ! f slavery, and not exactly advocate the system, but It is assumed that there must be a cause—that tell how he visited some Mormon gentlemen, where one f his beautiful wives was cooking dinner, another in-

may, but need neither be crime, gross immorality nor incapacity. It may be anything else, either in the people or in its servant, that just as effectually prevents the proper and useful discharge of his sife just confined, another putting the chambers in or-

der, another gracing the parlor, and all harmonious, duties.

A minister or any other servant, without overstepping the line of his strict obligations, may do many things which would be no legal cause for charge against him, be no breach of contract, nothing for which he could be condemned publicly sciable, cheerful and affectionate, delighting in their eral duties, and basking in the smiles of their Abraor called to account any where, but which would utterly destroy his reputation, and render the continuance of the relation foolish and useless. It is all the more, and always so, with a public

It is all the more, and always so, with a public servant.

In such cases, each party must be, and is, left to judge.

A man may be so offensive in person, manners or morals, in speech, appearance or general conduct, that the ought to be removed.

Assuming, then, that this mode is not to be used capriciously or causelessly, the question must be this:

Is there any well-founded reason for which the people feel, either that the person is likely to be

Is there any well-founded reason for which the people feel, either that the person is likely to be less useful at his post than he was when appointed, or that it is best for the community that he should not stand as their Judge!

As a Judge may be impeached for official misconduct, and also for immorality, so he may be removed.

Loring a long, faithful and impartial examination, your Committee, in view of the facts and considerations set forth in this Report, recommend that the accompanying Address be sent to the Governor, requesting him, by and with the advice and consent of the Council, to remove Edward Greeley Loring

In the old Roman orator, Cicero, in a republic tottering under the accumulated corruptions and crimes of seven conturies, felt impelled, when called upon to plead for the rights and liberties of seven conturies of an armed soldiery, to exclaim, 'Tamen hee now judicii nora forma terret oculos, qui quocunque inciderint, veterem consuctudinum fori, a seven contuctudinum fori, a seven consuctudinum formation fori, a seven consuctudinum fori, a seven consuctudinum formation for consuctudinum for consuctudinum fori, a seven consuctudinum for consuctudinum formation for consuctudinum for consuctudi

the strip of things we can have just now. But this holy man be seen seen the elephant of slavery, than he falls down and worships it. What an ass the man must be! But the Reverend Doctor must expect persecution, the Reverend Doctor must expect persecution, and it is also be shings; but, standing on the Bible platform, and shings; but, standing on the Bible platform, and farm.

M.

The two branches of the legislature, in General Court assembled, respectfully request that your courts are set the elephant of slavery, than he falls of the Reverend Doctor must be pleased, by and with the advocating norm of a new kind of the respectfully request that your form, the great more judiciorum requirunt, "Or." In English, This unusual manner of a new kind of the clear of the Council, to remove Edward in vain for the ancient usages of the forum and the forms until now observed in our courts of judicative,—how ought we, as citizens of a republic not yet a century old, t regard this fearful encroachment upon the ancient forms of our courts, established to present set that the council to remove Edward or the Council, to remove Edward in vain for the ancient usages of the forum and the forms until now observed in our courts of judicature, and not one of the county of Suffolk.

Your Committee further recommend, that a Joint Special Countities, consisting of four on the part of the Secate, and nine on the part of the House, and the proposed of the secate that your down and working the advocating from the office of Judge of Probate for the county of Suffolk.

Your Committee further recommend, that a Joint Special Countities, consisting of four on the part of the Secate, and nine on the part of the House, are century old, t regard this fearful encroachment and the forms until now observed in our courts, established to present seed by the advocating to the county of Suffolk.

O. W. ALBEE, Chairman, Scrate.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT.

Extracts from a Lecture delivered by FREDERICK DOUGLASS in Rochester, Albany, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Portland, Banger, and other cities:—

Let us now turn away from the church, and examine the Anti-Slavery movement in its branches, for divisions are here, as well as elsewhere. I will not enter into an examination of their causes. God forbid that I should open here those bitter fountains! I may say, however, that the first grand division took place fourteen years ago, and on the very minor question, Shall a woman be a member of a committee in company with men! The majority said she should be; and the minority seeded. Thus was a grand Philanthropic movement rent asonder by a side issue, having nothing, whatever, to do with the great object which the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized to carry forward. Before I would have stood in such an attitude, and taken the responsibility of dividing the ranks of Freedom's army, I would have suffered my reight grant to be taken. sioner interfere with the duties of the office of Judge of Probate. The statute is imperative, that a Probate Court shall be held in the county of Suffolk on every Monday, except the first of each month. month.
Yet Mr. Dana, in his argument before the Committee in favor of Mr. Loring, wished it noted, as a proof of Judge Loring's kindly disposition, that he adjourned his Probate Court to try the be delayed an entire fortnight, that Colonel Suttle may be enabled to take a man from the free soil of Massachusetts to the slave soil of Virginia one day or dividing the ranks of Freedom's army, I mould have suffered my right arm to be taken off. How beautiful would it have been for that wobusiness of the widow and the orphan to accommodate a Virginia slave-hunter. Our laws declare it piracy to kidnap men from Africa. Shall it be deemed in Massachusetts a business fit for a Judge man, how nobly would her name have come down to us in this history, had she said: 'All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient!' of Probate to dabble in?

The Massachusetts Declaration of Rights affirms,
it is the right of every citizen to be tried by
judges, as free, impartial and independent, as the
lot of humanity will admit.

Your Committee were greatly impressed with the
importance of some of the admissions of Mr. Dana.
He admitted that the decision of Judge Loring was
against law and evidence, and vet andeavored to should be fought on its own ground; as it is, the slave's cause, already too heavy laden, had to bear up under this new addition; but I will not go furpossess the land. ther on that subject, except to characterize it as a sad mistake. I shall consider, first, the Garrisonian Anti-

Slavery Society. I call this the Garrisonian Society, because Mr. Garrison is, confessedly, its leader. This Society is the oldest of modern Anti-Slavery societies. It has, strictly speaking, two weekly papers, or organs—employs five or six lecturers papers, or organs—employs five or six lecturers—and holds numerous public meetings for the dissemination of its views. Its peculiar and distinctive feature is, its doctrine of ! No union with slave-holders.' This doctrine has, of late, become its bond of union, and the condition of good fellowship among its members. Of this Society, I have to say, its logical result is but, negatively, Anti-Slavery. Its doctrine of 'No union with slave-holders,' carried out, dissolves the Union, and leaves the slaves and their masters to fight their leaves the slaves and their masters to fight their own battles, in their own way. This I hold to be an abandonment of the great idea with which that ciety started. It started to free the slave. It ends, by leaving the slave to free himself. Its started with the purpose to imbue the heart of the nation with sentiments favorable to the abolition of Slavery, and ends by seeking to free the North from all responsibility for Slavery other than if Slavery were in Great Britain, or under some other nationality. This, I say, is the practical abandonment of the idea, with which that Society started. It has given up the faith that the slave can be freed short of the overthrow of the Government; and then, as I understand that Society, it leaves the slaves, as it must needs leave them, just where it leaves the slaves of Cuba, or those of Brazil. The

that representation which the Constitution gives in proportion to the number of slaves; and then without any agitation here, without any individual virtue, which the times have eaten out of us, God will vindicate the oppressed, by the laws of justice which He has founded.—Trample under foot your own unjust pledges; hreak to pieces your compact with hell by which you become the abettors of oppression. Stand alone, and let no cement of the Union bind the slave, and he will right himself."

himself. I dissent entirely from this reasoning. It assumes to be true what is plainly absurd, and that is, that a population of slaves, without arms, without means of concert, and without leisure, is more than a match for double its number, educated, accustomed to rule, and in every way prepared for warfare, offensive or defensive. This Society, therefore, consents to leave the slave's freedom to a most uncertain and improbable, if not an impossible, contingency.

sible, contingency.
But, 'No union with slaveholders.' As a mere expression of abhorrence of Slavery, the sentiment is a good one; but it expresses no intelligible principle of action, and throws no new light on the pathway of duty. Defined, as its authors define it, it leads to false doctrines and mischievous results. It condemns Gerrit Smith for sitting in Congress, and our Saviour for eating with publicans and sinners. Dr. Spring uttered a shocking sentiment, when he said, if one prayer of his would emancipate every slave, he would not offer that prayer. No less shocking is the sentiment of the leader of the disunion forces, when e says, that if one vote of his would emancipate every slave in this country, he would not east that vote. Here, on a bare theory, and for a theory which, if consistently adhered to, would drive a man out of the world—a theory which can never be made intelligible to common sense—the freemade intelligible to common sense—the free-m of the whole slave population would be sa-

crificed.

But again: No UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. I dislike the morality of this sentiment, io its application to the point at issue. For instance: A. unites with B. in stealing my property, and carrying it away to California, or to Australia, and while there, Mr. A. becomes convinced that he did wrong in stealing my property, and says to Mr. B., ao union with property-stealers, and abandons him. leaving the property in his hands. Now, I put it to this audience, has Mr. A. in this transaction, met the requirements of stringent morality! British churches as shall in turn affect the Amerition, met the requirements of stringent morality! can churches, which are, according to J. G. Birney, He, certainly, has not. It is not only his duty to separate from the thief, but to restore the stolen property to its rightful owner. And I hold that in the Union, this very thing of restoring to the Slave his long-lost rights can better be accomplished, than it can possibly be accomplished outside of the Union. This, then, is my answer to the motto, 'No Union with Slaveholders.'

But this is not the worst fanls of this Society.

But this is not the worst fault of this Society. Its chief energies are expended in confirming the opinion, that the U.S. Constitution is, and was, intended to be a slaveholding instrument—thus piling up between the slave and his freedom, the huge work of the abolition of the Government, as an indispensable condition to emancipation. My point here is, first, the Constitution is, according to its reading, an Anti-Slavery document; and, secondly, to dissolve the Union, as a means to abolish Slavery, is about as wise as it would be to burn up this city, in order to get the thieves out of

No Union with Slaveholders;' por selfish cry of 'No more Slavery extension;' but it must be slavery for man under the whole heavens.' Slave as a man and a brother, must be the vital and animating thought and impulse of any move-ment, which is to effect the abolition of slavery in While I see no objection to my occupying a place on your committee, I can for the slave's sake forego that privilege. The battle of Woman's Rights scattered and left to wander, and die in the wilder-

> The following timely appeal has been published in England, in the form of a tract, for the enlightenment and guidance of British Christians. Read it !

TURKISH MISSIONS.

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN

British Christians have recently been called on to unite with the American Board of Missions in the work of spreading the Gospel in Western Asia, and an association has been formed in London for this object, at the head of which stands the honored name of Lord Shaftesbury. The agent for the scheme, Rev. C. G. Young, has enlisted much symmetry in its behalf, while treadling through the product of the control scheme, Rev. C. G. Young, has enlisted much sympathy in its behalf, while travelling throughout the country. But while zealously promoting this interesting object, he has entirely kept out of view the character, with respect to American slavery, of the association with which British Christians are solicited to unite. This has been a subject of concern to the anti-slavery friends of Britain, who are well aware of the injurious effect to the cause of the slave, of this unqualified co-operation, and in many quarters unqualified eulogy of the American Board. They therefore made some efforts to undeceive the British public. Among others, the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society thought Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society thought it right to draw up a short history of the proceedings of the American Board in regard to slavery, which pointed to its unfaithfulness in many par-ticulars, alleging that the Board had overlooked leaves the slaves of Cuba, or those of Brazil. The nation, as such, is given up as beyond the power of salvation by the foolishness of preaching; and hence, the aim is now to save the North;—so that the American Anti-Slavery Society, which was in augurated to convert the nation after ten years struggle, parts with its faith, and aims now to save the North. One of the most eloquent of all the members of that Society, and the man who is only second to Mr. Garrison himself, defines the Garrisonian ductring thus: the three millions of immortal beings at home— that it had suffered the missionaries in the Chero-kee and Choctaw nations to admit converts to the church while still holding slaves and carrying on a All the slave asks of us, is to stand out of his way, withdraw our pledge to keep the peace on the plantation; withdraw our pledge to return him; withdraw that representation which the Constitution gives in proportion to the number of slaves; and then without, felt in many ways, among others by the increasing adherence of the friends of missions to the American Missionary Association, (formed on anti-slavery principles,) the Board had not given forth anti-slavery testimony, and that even then it was not of the decided characteristics. bat representation which the Constitution gives in orroportion to the number of slaves; and then without any gilation here, without any individual virtue, which the times have eaten out of us, God will vindicate the propressed, by the laws of justice which let has found.—Trample under foot your own unjust pledges; when the abettors of oppression. Stand alone, and bet no cement of the Union bind the slave, and he will eight himself.' I dissent entirely from this reasoning. It assumes to be true what is plainly absurd, and the same transfer of the decided character to be expected from such a body. The statement containing these allegations was circulated to some extent, and was sent to a gentleman deeply interested in this missionary movement, with a request that his attention might be directed to the facts illustrating the pro-slavery tendencies of the American Board, so that his influence might be used to prevent its receiving the sanction of British Christians. In replying to this request, this gentleman expressed regret that the Ladies' Committee should circulated in this missionary movement, with a request that his attention might be directed to the facts illustrating the pro-slavery tendencies of the American Board, so that his influence might be used to prevent its receiving the sanction of British Christians. In replying to this request, this gentleman expressed regret that the Ladies' Committee should circulate for such as a contraction of the decided character to be expected from such a body. The statement containing these allegations was circulated to some extent, and was not of the decided character to be expected from such a body. The statement containing these allegations was circulated to some extent, and was not of the decided character to be expected from such a body. The statement containing these allegations was circulated to some extent, and was not of the decided character to be expected from such a body. injurious misrepresentations of a society instrumental in abolishing slavery in the Sandwich Islands, and whose influence indirectly might be seen in the recent abolition of the sale of Circassian captives. He also alluded to the recent meeting at Hartford, repudiating the idea that the improved resolutions were attributable to the motives that had been suggested. On this point he quoted an extract from the New York Independent, 'a paper supported by Mrs. H. B. Stowe, her brother Rev. II. W. Beecher, and others,' to exhibit what he considered Beecher, and others,' to exhibit what he considered the opinion of 'the true friends of the anti-slavery cause in the United States.' The extract says, 'Many have been perplexed with the position or supposed position of the Board, who have never wholly forsaken it. We may hope that they, and all who rejoice in the explicitness and Christian manliness with which it has now declared itself, will express their joy by going forward with new courage, and with a more cheerful self-denial, in co-operation with the great and venerable institution, around which so many prayers and devout asco-operation with the great and venerable institu-tion, around which so many prayers and devout as-pirations have gathered, and which has been so prospered in its work. This gentleman's Note also alluded to the effect which this 'uncalled for interference' of members of the Anti-Slavery Socie ty might have in marring the effort of friends of missions in Turkey, as an expression of international good-will, but suggested that 'the antislavery movement would suffer far greater injury by the alienation of some of its best friends, from

these proceedings.'
To this Note the Committee felt bound to reply, To this Note the Committee felt bound to reply, in justification of their course; and as it has occurred to them that the above points may also strike others who have not looked closely into the subject, they have resolved to print their reply for wider circulation, in the carnest hope that it may be useful in stimulating such right action from the British churches as shall in turn affect the American churches which are according to J. G. Birney.

missionaries on this and some other subjects. In proof of these assertions, we may briefly recapitulate a few general points. The Board is sustained in a large measure by slaveholders; while ministers of slaveholding deharches, and slaveholding members, take part in its management as officers, corporate members, and agents. To secure the support of the South, the emissaries of the Board have taken no notice of the sin of slavery, while travelling among the slave states to collect foads for foreign objects, and have not scrupled to accept for their treasury that which was literally the price of blood. The Board itself has never declared slaveholding a sin, and has suffered the same laxity to obtain among the Indian missions, where slaveholding converts are received as Christians. The Board has never acted out the injunction which is the only authority for all missions, 'Go ye into all the world to preach the Gospel to every creature.' It has overlooked three millions of immortal souls at its own door; nay, has received as a Christian brother the tyrant who makes and sustains laws to doom them, as far as he can do so, to perpetual heathen darkness. (We need not remind you of the laws of some Southern States which decree death as the penalty of teaching slaves to read the Bible, and others of kindred nature.)

Setting aside this flagrant course of unfaithfulness to its calling, has the Board in other respects pursued it fully, by preaching the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ (Luke iv. 18.) or instructing the missionaries to preach it in all its adaptation for the elevation and conversion of the fallen race; have the converts been called on to forsake their sins, or has the standard of Christianity been lowered to suit them! For an answer, we look to the various discussions and decisions of the Board. In 1845 at long and labored report was given in and adopted, defending the course of the Board in admitting missionaries on this and some other subjects. In

long and labored report was given in and adopted, defending the course of the Board in admitting slaveholders to the mission churches. Rev. Dr. Woods of Andover was chairman to the Commitee. In the course of the debate, Dr. C. E. Stowe tee. In the course of the debate, Dr. C. E. Stowe (now Professor Stowe) said, 'I would sooner die than say our missionaries ought to enter their open protest against all the evils with which they come in contact.' Dr. Beecher of Boston said 'masters and slaves existed in the primitive churches, and it was allowed by Christ and his apostles. Slavery is an organic sin made by law, and therefore not dealt with as other sins.' In 1846 similar deference to arranic sins was adouted, at this time more ence to organic sins was adopted, at this time more especially regarding the subject of polygamy, when the sanction of the Board was given to the admission of converts to Christian fellowship while resion of converts to Christian fellowship while re-taining this heathen custom. The discussions on this occasion we do not quote, as it is with the decisions we have principally to do; but they were of a most repulsive character, and are important as showing the sentiments of those of whom the Board is composed. In 1847 there was not much agitation of the anti-slavery question before the Association, but it was proposed to send some one agitation of the anti-slavery question before the Association, but it was proposed to send some one to visit the Indian missions. Mr. Treat accordingly went and returned, bringing in, in 1848, his comprehensive Report, and founding on it the letter now so generally called by his name; this letter now so generally called by his name; this letter necommended that slaveholding should be considered prima facie evidence against the fitness of a candidate for admission to the church, but it was to be left with himself to prove his freedom from the guilt of the system.* It also recommended that the missionaries should not employ slave labor; beyond this, there was little of practical anti-slavery application; such as it was, however, it was too anti-slavery for the Board, who did not adopt it from 1848 to 1854, and the old position adopt it from 1848 to 1854, and the old position was retained, till at the recent meeting at Hartford, the subject having been introduced by the melan-choly reports from the Choctaw mission, a resolu-tion was moved in accordance with this letter, which (not without considerable and warm opposi

which (not without considerable and warm opposi-tion) was carried.

It may be important here to call to mind that the laws of the Choctaw nation, now stringently reinforced, prohibiting the teaching of slaves, im-posing barriers in the way of emancipation, &c., had been in operation since 1836, and till now no protest was made against them by the missionaries and the Board, if we except Mr. Treat's depreca-tory mention of them in his Report in 1848. In the same Report he alludes to the melancholy fact, same Report he alludes to the melancholy fact, that the number of slaves had increased 'under

the Gospel.'
Undoubtedly, then, there is evidence of progress in the late proceedings of the Board, and in this we rejoice; but we must be allowed to judge in ome degree of the considerations which prompted t, by the pleas advanced in support of the resolutions, even in connection with more noble advo-cacy, at the meeting at Hartford. Rev. W. W. Patton said, 'Pass these resolutions, and you will send a thrill of joy through the North, and open a way for the renewed co-operation of thousands who have been compelled to withhold their contri-butions.' Dr. Lyma Beepter said 'they had now butions.' Dr. Lyman Beecher said ' they had now an opportunity to secure to the Board the churches of the West,' &c. Dr. Bacon said, 'The views of those who furnish our funds must decide our ne-tion.' The Rev. Dr. Pomroy affirmed that 'no ac-tion less than or different from the resolutions would harmonize the churches of the North.' Dr. Todd asserted the same thing of the friends of missions in the Bay State and Granite State, &c. &c., and therefore we must infer that this improve-&c., and therefore we must infer that this improvement is in a great degree attributable to pressure from without, owing to the advance of public opinion, which has been produced through the instrumentality of the unceasing efforts of the abolitionists, the production and wonderful effects of Uncle Tom's Cabin, and the agitation and passage of the Nebraska Bill. This progress is manifested in Professor Stowe and members of the Beecher family, as well as others, if we may judge from the expression of their sentiments in previous discussions; and therefore their opinions and the impressions given forth by the Independent's are not quite those which should influence us in this country, who are free from the partialities and asnot quite those which should influence us in this country, who are free from the partialities and associations likely to affect them. Yet we rejoice to hail every improvement, and thankfully accept and appreciate the noble advocacy of the cause by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and Mrs. H. B. Stowe. Still we must respectfully submit that such a body as the American Board of Commissioners for Fortal Williams abould not wait to be stimulated eign Missions should not wait to be stimulated * The following Letter, addressed to the Editor of the Christian Observer, will show Mr. Treat's present anti-

lavery sentiments :-

Missionary House, Boston, Oct. 7, 1854. Missionary House, Boston, Oct. 7, 1854.

Drak Str.,—In your Paper of this date, you publish an extract from the Watchman and Observer, and then inquire, 'Is this a fair and truthful statement? Did Mr. Treat endeavor to persuade missionaries to exclude slaveholders from the communion? Did he treat them with threats, that, if they persisted in their course, the Board would cut them off? Did he thus undertake to speak for the Board? 'To each and all of these interrogatories I answer 'No.' And I must be allowed to express my surprise that any one should have supposed me capable of such conduct. Yours very sincerely, S. B. TREAT, Sec. of the A. B. C. F. M.

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from without; but should, in its Gospel character. assume and maintain the highest standard of mo-ral and Christian duty, and if this has not hitherral and Christian duty, and it this has been rendered to been done, and obedience has been rendered to expediency rather than to the laws of God; and if even yet there is no word of repentance; we would suggest that this Board is not a trustworthy ally in so pure and holy an enterprize as the pro-pagation of the Gospel. Far be it from us to seek to injure the cause of Missions! On the contrary, we would earnestly desire that they should be so conducted, as that, with the blessing of God, their good may be sure and everlasting, which we could scarcely hope from the antecedents of the American Board. On this point we have alluded to the Indian Missions; and to give another side of the question, we quote a letter from Rev. D. S. Brayton, a Baptist Missionary among the Karens. Will you tell me how to meet the following objective. Will you tell me how to meet the following objection I have to meet wherever I go among the wild Knrens? 'If we become disciples, when you get a large number of ns. you intend to entice us away and make slaves of us in your own country.' This objection is arged with as much seriousness and confidence as if they were actually acquainted with the system of American slavery. . . And will they not become acquainted with it? I see not how it can possibly be avoided. . . . And when once it is known, it will spread like wildfre among the people. Some time since I noticed the following remark as coming from Bro. Kincaid: 'If the heathen were aware of the slaveholding character of our churches, by whom the missionaries are of our churches, by whom the missionaries are sent out, the usefulness of the missionaries would be at an end.' Now I should not be willing to go quite so far as this, and say that their usefulness would be at an end. But I most sincerel believe that the strength of the missionaries' are But I most sincerely

would be sadly paralyzed.

As Mrs. Stowe mournfully exclaims in the Key,
We have sent our missionaries to all quarters of
the globe; but how shall they tell their heathen converts the things that are done in Christianized America? How shall our missionaries in Mahometan countries hold up their hands and proclaim the superiority of our religion, when we tolerate barbarities which they have repudiated ! . . . No, there is no resource. The church in the United States is shut up, in the Providence of God, to one work. She never can fulfil her mission till this is done. So long as she neglects this, it will lie in the way of everything clse which she attempts to do.' And if this he the case, surely it would be better for British Christians to go forth indepen dently in their great work, leaning on the Almighty

arm alone for help.

We wish to advert to the point in your Note referring to the Sandwich Islands. Very early in the history of the American missions in those islands, the missionaries formed an Anti-Slavery Society, and published a most powerful appeal to the American Board and people; this was not circulated, and it was decreed that 'no mission or member of a mission may print any letter, tract, or appeal, at the printing establishments, at the expense the Board, with a view to its being sent to individ-uals or communities in the United States.' (How this rule was understood by the missionaries is evi dent from one of them writing from India, 'We are prohibited writing anything home on the subject of slavery; but we cannot forget that slavery exists in the home of freemen, &c. &c.) Notwithstanding this suppressive policy, the anti-slavery efforts fulfilled their beneficial end towards the Sandwich Islands, and that aside from the Board rather than by its influence.

With regard to the renewed edict for the aboli-tion of the sale of Circassian slaves, although, no doubt, as in the Sandwich Islands, the faithfulness of Christians would promote the righteous mea-sure, it is well known to have been brought about by the agency of the British Government; at all events, the Firman of the Mahometan despotic soevents, the Firman of the Mahometan despote so-vereign of Turkey conveys a striking rebuke to de-mocratic Christian America. It says. Man is the most noble of all the creatures formed by the hand of God, who destined him to be happy in making him free born. But, contrary to that decision, the Circassians indulge in the strange habit of selling their children and relatives as slaves, and even of stee ing children from each other, in order to sell them like animals or articles of furniture. These proceedings, incompatible with the dignity of man, and conincompatible with the dignity of man, and con-trary to the will of the Sovereign Creator, are al-together reprehensible, and I condemn them abso-lutely. Wherefore, &c. (proceeding to give direc-tions for the suppression of the trade.)

We feel it necessary to apologize for having oc-cupied so much of your time in details which are familiar to you, but we were auxious to review them before you in the hone that your inferences.

them before you in the hope that your inferences from them of the character of the American Board might undergo some alteration.
Our plea for 'interference' in this matter is found-

ed on our carnest wish to obey the injunction to re-member those in bonds as bound with them, and the conviction confirmed by those most deeply interested in the question in this country and America, including Mrs. Stowe, that there is no power so great which Britain can bring to bear on America ican slavery as the power of public opinion, and that there is no medium to express this so forcibly ns through the religious organizations; therefore it is we are so anxious that the British church should give forth no 'uncertain sound;' and therefore it is we have taken the liberty to lay before you this important subject, as from your interest in the cause of missions, and your influence in pronoting it, you may be able to give a right direc-tion to the expression of British feeling, and in-duce a co-operation in this great work, only with those whose hands are free from participation in e sin of slavery. We should indeed grieve to injure the Anti-Slav-

ery cause by unweighed assertion; but we do not fear its being injured by the propagation of truth, whereby we hope to elicit an expression of encour ent for those who, in America, in the midst obloquy and difficulties, are faithful to the cause of the slave, such as shall stimulate them to go on steadily in their work, under all circumstances. And that the number of these will increase in and around the Board, till it shall itself be quite wor thy of the sanction and sympathy it now seeks, is

our earnest wish.
We are most respectfully, for the Committee,

A. LILLIE, E. WIGHAM, Secretaries.

The Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Commit-tee, having heard of the introduction of this sub-ject before the Congregational Union, and of its being supported by the Rev. S. R. Ward, addressm a Note of inquiry, to which it is but inatice to him to give his reply :-

'I beg to say, by way of reply to your very welcome Note, that at a dinner of gentlemen belong-ing to the Congregational Union, and not a meet-ing of the Union itself, a resolution was moved by another, and seconded by myself, pledging aid to persons connected with American and other mis-sions in Turkey. . . . When Mr. Young express-ed the opinion that to extend such aid might possibly induce the Board to take right action on subject of slavery, I expressed the contrary opin-ion, seconded the motion for the adoption of the resolution, and remarked that I thought the teach-ers and preachers were worthy of British aid, while I had no confidence in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. . . . I do not conceive that the wrong position of the Board ought to operate as a barrier to my contributing the aid of converted Turks, who are laboring i the aid of converted Turks, who are laboring connection with the Board. I do not see that su aid, especially when accompanied with open and plain protests against the character of the Board, is or can be candidly construed into an approval, or a seeming approval, of the Board. . . . But, inasmuch as Mr. Cuthbert Young, the Secretary of the Turkish Missish is a as Mr. Cuthbert Young, the Secretary of the same Air Cuthbert Young, the Secretary of the Society with siness to couple all his labors for this Society with a most hurtful and objectionable, and as I have told him, unwarrantable and false defence of that the same will continually make the one sustain Board, and will continually make the one sustain the other, and collect money on that showing, I hereby to you, and through you to whomsoever you choose, renounce all connection with and advocacy of the Turkish Mission Aid Society. Glad-ly would I do anything in my power to aid that so-ciety. But if, through its Secretary, it must in-cessantly misrepresent the true vestion of the cessantly misrepresent the true position of the Board, and thereby mislead honest minds, touching its true character. I cannot, must not, aid in such work, directly or indirectly. I am, &c.
Sancer Ringgold Ward.

In regard to the 'New York Independent,' Mr. Lewis Tappan, whose name is known to many in this country, as Secretary of the American and

Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and whose authority on this point cannot be questioned, writes to the Editor of the 'Nonconformist.'—'What will be said in England, Mr. Editor, of the declaration in said in England, Mr. Editor, of the declaration in a professed anti-slavery newspaper in the United States, in view of those statements now submitted to your readers, that the whole subject of slav-ery, in relation to the missionary work, is settle upon the eternal basis of right, by the recent ac-tion of the American Board of Commissioners for tion of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, when it is patent to the world that the Board sustains missionaries among the Indians, who admit to church privilege sinvshold-ers—those who buy and sell men, women, and children, nay, church members—missionaries who contend that the Gospel of Christ allows such atrocities, and that unless 'overt' acts of cruelty are perpetrated, and it can be proved that slaves are held from selfah purposes, they have a right to held from selfish purposes, they have a right to consider such church member 'free from all blame in the sight of God'! They will say what has long been known to be true in this country, that the with the slave power, with a pro-slavery government, with ecclesiastical bodies and national socie ties in complicity with slavery, but with a large body of ministers, editors, and church members, in the Free States, who style themselves anti-slav-ery people, and yet afford aid and countenance to the iniquitous system, by their apologies, mystifi-cations, glosses, and misstatements.

· Respectfully, yours,
· Lewis Tappan. New York, Nov. 23, 1854.

From the London Anti-Slavery Advocate ROCHESTER ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

A few days since, a friend in Liverpool sent an article for our adoption and insertion in the present number of the Anti-Slavery Advocate. As it was penned in the style editorial, and we should have penned in the style cultorial, and we should have been responsible for its contents, we are surprised that our friend, who is, we hope, a constant reader of the Advocate, could suppose we would so far stultify ourselves as to accept his offer. His article gives an account of the Rochester Anti-Slavery Bazaar, and contains an implied culogy of the Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle, under whose unspices it is held, for the independent position they have chosen, and their determination to co-operate with all whose love for the Anti-Slavery cause rises superior to their connexion with any particular party or sect of abolitionists.

is done to promote the anti-slavery cause. But our love for the cause does not rise so far superior to our connexion ' with any particular party or sect of abolitionists,' as to preclude a very decided opinion that there is a better way of doing every- with as little delay as possible, the correctness of a statething, and that the anti-slavery cause is no excep-tion to this rule. Ever since an interest in that cause was first aroused in our minds, seventeen years ago, by the eloquence of George Thompson and the pen of Harriet Martineau, we have been a reader of anti-slavery newspapers, and in constant communication with Abolitionists of great diversity of opinion. The result is that, amidst much termed the 'Western Asia Missions Aid Society,' (respectively asia Missions Aid Society) (respectively asia Missions Aid Missions Aid Missions Aid Missions Aid Mis change of views on many important subjects, we have seen no reason to change our opinion that in ferences to which have frequently no way can the abolition of slavery be so well promoted as by an adhesion to the principles of the ciety acts in concert with the American Board of Com-American Anti-Slavery Society. They labor, by indefatigable, honest, and fearless appeals to the portion of the funds it collects to the officials of that public conscience, through the medium of the press, the pulpit, and the platform, to reform the corrupt public opinion of the United States; they show that the halls of logislature, the seats of justice, the synods, the conferences, and yearly to Mr. Young's appeal for aid. To this an amendment meetings, are polluted by the contact of slavery they come out from pro-slavery sects: and abstain from the most cherished privilege of American citizens—that of participation in political privileges —rather than swear to uphold a constitution which they consider pro-slavery in its tenor and operaganization; they admit of no religious tests, and ganization; they admit of no religious tests, and every one is welcome to their platform who is willing to help them. So firmly are we convinced of the wisdom and honesty of their course, that they have our entire sympathy. We think it an honor to be counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever to be counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever to be counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever to be counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever to be counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever to be counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of their fellow-laborers in ever the counted us one of the counted us so humble a way, and believe the welfare of the race to be identified with the attainment of the ob-

them in religious opinions. We respect their scru-ples, and are glad to see them trying to help the

which, in our opinion, does more mischief to the slave by its hostility to its best friends, than it can counterbalance by its own direct labor in its be-of Feb. 15, which paper he said was edited by Rev. H. half. The Rochester Anti-Slavery Sewing Society, w. Beecher, and to which Mrs. Stowe was one of the which has held the Bazaar that our Liverpool friend chief contributors. The article (which Mr. Young led believe a large portion of its income to the support of Frederick Pouglass's Paper. This paper and its editor are strenuous in their efforts to depreciate ings of the late London Anti-Slavery Conference; dein its columns, and which in our opinion are dis-graceful the writer, and no credit to the paper tacks upon Mr. Pillsbury, on whom it declared no re-

deprecate bigoted and malignant hostility

THE CINCINNATI SLAVE CASE.

dered that Rusetta, the alleged shave of the restrant Mr. Dennison, should be delivered up to her guardian, Mr. Van Slyke. Hon. S. P. Chase distinguished him-self by his seal and ability in behalf of the girl. On the other side appeared Hon. George E. Pugh, who is the successor of Mr. Chase in the United States Sennte, elected by the Legislature a year ago, and since repudiated by a popular majority of 80,000, but who will misrepresent the State for six years. The Gazette gives an account of the events which took place after Judge Parker gave his decision:

No Union with Slaveholders. BOSTON, APRIL 6, 1855.

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF PORT HIGH

By the last European mail, the following er mm tion from the Secretary of the Bristol and C fifton Anti Slavery Society was received by the Gener al Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. The impor-tant and interesting character of its cont ents impels us to lay it before our readers without del ay. The American Board of Foreign Mi ssions appear

be using every means, which a cauti ous diplomacy on suggest, to get the British churches and ministers con mitted to its support and advoce ey. The religion papers of this country, with one consent, are shouting aloud the praises of the American Board, on count of their recent action in the case of the Choc taw schools, as if that action could purge their pro-slavery sins, or hide the enormous fact of their religiou connection, fellowship, and co-membership with men who are themselves the owners of human beings, (often of members of the same church with themselves,) and who justify and defend slaveholding as right in itself, and as in accordance with the Word and will of God. Even the New York Independent, as our readers have already learned with the deepest sorrow, is supporting and extolling the American Board, and de PARKER PULSBURY for his frank, explicit, and manly exposure of the pro-slavery character of the Board,while its editor, (in the spirit which we have been ac customed to find in the New York Observer, and which casions no surprise there,) refuses to allow Mr. Pillsbury an opportunity to defend himself, in the columns where he had attacked Mr. Pillsbury in a very gross manuer! Does the advocacy of the American Bor Missions drag the Independent down to this? We earnestly trust that the British churches, at this adranced stage of the anti-slavery question, will not suffer themselves to be drawn into any alliance with the slaveholding religion of this country. Such an alliance we wish that our position in this respect the American churches are seeking now, as their only should be clearly understood. We welcome all salvation. But we are keeping our readers from the earnest anti-slavery effort, and are glad of all that

Bristol letter:

> BRISTOL, (Eng.) March 8, 1855. I write to you by this mail on behalf of our Ant ment made last night in Bristol, by Rev. Cuthbert Young-which is, that ' Since the Hartford meeting of last year, Mrs. H. B. Stowe, and her brother Rev. H. Ward Beecher, have taken the American Board of termed the 'Western Asia Missions Aid Society,' (references to which have frequently appeared in reportion of the funds it collects to the officials of that

was proposed by Rev. George Armstrong, suggesting, that as the Western Asia Missions Aid Society was connected with the American Board of Foreign Missions. -an organization stained by the contributions and ontrolled by the influence of slaveholders .- British Nothing can be more catholic than their or- Christians should establish a separate agency for their missionary efforts in Turkey, or should cooperate with Rev. Mr. Young interrupted Mr. Armstrong more

than once, at first endeavoring to prove the amendment jects at which they aim.

At the same time, we are far from insisting on out of order, and then maintaining that cooperation unity with the American Anti-Slavery Society as with the American Board had not the remotest tendenindispensable to our sympathy and good wishes. cy to sustain slavery: that when this idea was present-Some very good people are unwilling to draw in the same yoke with persons who differ widely from it': that the public must not think of listening to the reckless statements about the American Board made by Mr. Parker Pillsbury, who had attacked it in a most unslave in their own way. There are others who place greater reliance than we do on the free-labor justifiable way at the recent Anti-Slavery Conference in produce movement; and to these we nevertheless London: that, instead of the Board bearing the character which was represented by parties in England, Mr But it is quite another matter when we are asked H. W. Beecher and Mrs. Stowe, since the Hartford Conto assist a means of belping the anti-slavery cause, which, in our opinion, does more mischief to the wants us to commend to our readers, devotes we the meeting to infer was written, or at least 'endorsed' editor are strenuous in their efforts to depreciate that anti-slavery intrumentality which we esteem shove all others, and those abolitionists whom we charges brought against it by Rev. Edward Mathews, respect most highly for their works' sake. For the James Vincent, S. R. Ward, and Mr. Parker Pillstruth of this assertion, we need only refer to the letters of COMMUNIPAW which have lately uppeared bury; speaking in terms of disparagement of the first liance must be placed, and warned British Christians In proof that we are animated by no narrow or against taking that gentleman as a sample of the true In proof that we are animated by no narrow as against taking that generally in the United States, exclusive spirit, we point to the reports of the anti-slavery loctures of the Rev. Edward Mathews, and If you, or the editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, to the articles from his pen, which have appeared in the Advocate from the commencement of this paper. This gentleman does not belong to the American Anti-Slavery Society, nor has be to over the New York Independent of Feb. 15,* will you refer to it? Mr. Young did not read from it, American Anti-Slavery Society, nor has he, to our but merely held it in his hand as he quoted its con-knowledge any special sympathy with it. But as we tents, and I only had an opportunity of glancing curbelieve him to be a zealous and devoted laborer in the anti-slavery cause, who has proved his faith by his works, and is determined to test the churches some passages which would make the fact of Mr. both in England and the United States, by their Beecher writing such an article, or consenting to give clared principles, we are glad to co-operate it his editorial seal, less unintelligible than it at this with him by every means in our power.

We do not demand unity of views from any, but to the Evangelical Christians of Great Britain, among whom he presses the claims of the American Board of and we will not knowingly promote the objects of those who make it part of their business, as abolitionists, to assail the American Anti-Slavery So-Cabin, and her brother, are giving the weight of their ciety, and to villify some of the very best and truest unqualified sanction to this Board, it is all that they friends of the slave. would require to commend the Board to their confidence

The subject of the support given to slaveholders by The Cincinnati Gazette of Friday gives a long report of the proceedings before Judge Parker, who ordered that Rusetta, the alleged slave of the reverend that Rusetta, the alleged slave of the reverend in tholds to the system, has been brought before the deriversed up to her guardian notice of the Western Asia Missions Aid Society,' in an admirable Tract lately published by the Edinb On Anti-Slavery Society. This pamphlet, together with the reply made to the Secretary of that Society, with a Parker gave his decision:

'The Sheriff asked Mr. Van Slyke where he wanted their Secretary's note, it appears that they decline exthe Sheriff asked Mr. Van Slyke where he wanted the girl delivered to him, and was answered by Mr. Chase, at the Woodruff House. On the Sheriff and posse leaving the court-room, to proceed to the Woodruff House with 'Rosetta,' a largeor the Specific and possessing the control, to be preced to the Woodruff House with 'Rosetta,' a large-sized, huge-fisted negro-man, named Chisholm, made a pass at Thomas Higdon, Deputy Sheriff, who held the girl, when he was seized by Ben. Higdon, ex-Sheriff, who, with Mr. Garoute, turnkey, who happened to be present, seized and bore the stout man to jail, where, on examination, he was found to have a heavily loaded six-shorter, two lack, happens and a 'howlete'.

Cabin, or the distinguished clergyman whose earnest capacitation in his recent lecture before the New York on examination, he was found to have a heavily loaded six-shooter, two jack-knives and a bowlder. Cabin, or the distinguished clergyman whose earnest exhortation in his recent lecture before the New York. The attendant officers, specially detailed, with an immense crowd, walked without interruption to the hotel, where the crowd was again immense. At the hotel, the Sheriff, on the arrival of Mr. Van Slyke, delivered up the girl to him, when Mr. H. H. Robinson, U. S. Marshal, presented himself, and produced a warrant similar. shal, presented hisself, and produced a warrant similar to the first one, demanding the girl to be taken, as fugitive, before Commissioner Pendery. Mr. Van Slyke protested against the demand, as she was placed in his custody by the Court.

The marshal them are recombed to the force of the product of the custody by the Court.

custody by the Court.

The marshal then proceeded to the front of the building, on the balcony, and addressed the assembled multitude, saying, 'In the name of the United States, I, as Marshal of the Southern District of Ohio, command the peace and my protection.'

He then read aloud a long list of detailed force, and declared that no step would be taken without anthority.

cribed to it, and continues to be deeply involved in the maintenance of slavery.

No one seconded Mr. Armstrong's amendment; but the peace and my protection.'

The article in question will be found in the Liberator of Feb. 23, in the 'Refuge of Oppression.' The editor of the Ladependent has been asked if he would allow Mr. Pillsbury to reply to it, in his columns, and he has refused.— Ed. Lis.

the Chairman, RICHARD BALL, Esq., protested against lending any, the remotest sanction to the sinful system of American slavery. He said that he would not interest and pleasure. It is a liberal benefaction to the touch it with a pitchfork, nor sit down to table with a anti-slavery cause, made in the most delicate and aslaveholder, nor admit him to religious fellowship; that greeable manner. In behalf of the noble cause it is dehe could not sleep in his bed, if he knew that taking signed to promote, our most grateful acknowledgment the chair at that meeting could be construed into sanction of the support given to slavery by the churches of America, which Rev. Albert Barnes had truly declared to be responsible for its continuance. Rev. J.

Burden also bore his testimony against slavery, and said that on no consideration would he have appeared at this WENDELL PHILLIPS. meeting, unless persuaded that, by so doing, he was in GENTLEMEN-I have the high honor and satisfacti duced by extending to them British countenance and co- the originator and leader of the American anti-slavery

Copies of the Edinburgh Tract on Turkish Mission were sent by the British and Clifton A. S. Society to about twenty-four ministers and other gentlemen, who were thought likely to attend the meeting on behalf of the Western Asia Mission, with a note bespeaking a careful examination of the statements concerning the American Board. The President of the A. S. Society was privately informed by Mr. Ball, (the Chairman of the meet ing.) that one Baptist minister of influence had in con sequence declined taking part in the proceedings, on the same ground; and the names of others who staid away, and who refused to read from their pulpits a notice of the meetings, have been given; but no one but Mr. Armstrong would undertake the disagreeable and unpopular task of publicly explaining the reasons that existed for discountenancing cooperation with the American Board of Missions in the great work of evangelizing

The following is the amendment moved by the Re-

GEORGE ARMSTRONG, but not seconded :-Whereas, this meeting having just grounds for regarding the agency of the Rev. Cuthbert Young in behalf of the Western Asia Mission Society as more or less connected with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, -a fact sufficiently revealed in the 'Circular' issued by an association recently formed in London, chiefly at the instigation of Rev. C. Young, and by the marked satisfaction thereat expressed on the part of the American Board of Missions in its official notice of the proceedings of that body, -and whereas, the American Board of Missions, representing as it does the leading religious denominations of the United States of America, which as a whole have been grievously faithless to the cause of the down-trodden slave, and have been justly described as 'the bulwark of American slavery'; therefore,

Resolved, That this meeting refuses to extend its sympathy or cooperation to an agency so tainted; and would testify its interest in Christian missions in the East, either by independent British agency, or by cooperation with the 'American Missionary Association' established in New York; of which Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, the brother of Mrs. Stowe, is an influential member and supporter.

We have also received the following copy of the ociety to the Secretary of the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society. The pamphlet, which we have copied on our the following is a reply :-

WESTERN ASIA MISSIONS AID SOCIETY. 7. ADAM St., STRAND, LONDON, Feb. 12, 1855.

Rev. Cuthbert Young presents his respects Miss Wigham, and begs to state that he has laid her nication before the last meeting of the Committee of this Society.

The following is a copy of the minute on the subject,

Relations of the American Board to Slavery.

The Secretary having read a communication from the cretary of the Ladies' Emancipation Committee at Edinburgh, (accompanied by a pamphlet,) urging the Committee to employ British rather than American agents in Turkey; on the ground that the American Board is involved in the support of slavery in the United

Resolved, That the abolition of slavery is not a sub ject that lies within the functions of this Committee; and that the Secretary be instructed to write to that effect in reply to the communication.'

Mr. Young begs further to state, that while the Comdirectly or indirectly, by so many of the American London, and distinguished for his popular eloquencechurches, they do not see that, as a Committee, they are called upon to protest against it.

entire proceedings of the American Board in all countries; and as regards the missions aided by them in the Turkish empire, the appropriations of money are made analysis, they contain a good deal of interesting and not for the support of American missionaries, but of instructive reading, conveyed in a flowing and an at-Armenian, Greek, and Syrian native agents, and for ed-

fact, that the ground taken at the last annual meeting of the American Board is regarded by the great portion f abolitionists as a great step in advance.

This Rev. Cuthbert Young appears to be as wily s a fox, and slippery as an eel. In regard to the Aspirit, attitude, counsel and government. No countence ought to be given to it by British Christians.

A timely word and a good example. LETTER PROM JOHN G. WHITTIER. AMESBURY, 26th 3d mo., 1855.

few noble and self-sacrificing men and women. All is defective in principle—as when its author says,

Dost thou not remember Felicia Hemans' lyric of the continue to be managed under State law.' living man has no right to plead bodily illness and sufof faith and patience, and thankfully embrace such op- in several particulars. portunities as are afforded me to encourage and aid the sause of freedom, never more dear to me than at this SARGENT'S STANDARD SERIES-No. 4. The Standard

Amidst the changes and confusions of the time, and the general disruption of old political combinations, I see unmistakable signs of progress. Out of the welter ing chaos, the North is slowly emerging. The impious political imposture which has profuned the sacred name f Democracy is smitten to the earth, never to rise again. Let us hope that in its place will arise the true party of the people—that impartial, all-embracing de-mocracy of Christianity, for which the world agonizes in prayer to the Father of all.

> Ever and truly thy friend, JOHN G. WHITTIER

AN ACCEPTABLE MARRIAGE GIFT.

are profered to all the parties concerned.

[CORRESPONDENCE.]

meeting, unless persuaded that, by so doing, he was in no way compromising his anti-slavery principles. You of forwarding to you enclosed, the correspondence which authorizes your draft on our beloved friend, Mr. Thom-there is some real anti-slavery feeling amongst us, but that the different sects still stand sadly in need of light respecting the connection of religious organizations in among the 'friends' to whom he alludes; but I among the 'friends' to whom he alludes the 'friends' to whom he ica with slavery, and of the injurious effects pro- sure I fulfil his intention in communicating with younovement, the President, Treasurer, and most liberal supporters of the American Anti-Slavery Society; th best persecuted' men in the country ever since my emembrance—the dearest friends of my family. Most grateful for the privilege of thus subscribing my

self, I am, gentlemen, Your affectionate co-laborer in the cause, E. B. CHAPMAN LAUGEL.

Paris, March 8, 21 Rue de Varenne. CORRESPONDENCE.

To MRS. H. G. CHAPMAN :

MY DEAR FRIEND-Through the kindness of th dear sister, Anne Warren Weston, I am in receipt of thy address. She seems to think thou wilt visit our nd, on thy way to America, this summer. We shall be most glad to see thee, and hope thy daughter and thy new son will visit us also. My dear brother, when h heard of thy dear Elizabeth's marriage, said to me. I think M. W. C. would like her daughter to be the nedium of a gift to our anti-slavery cause': and he now commissions me to say, that either she or thy self may write to your friends in Boston, to draw or him in London for one hundred pounds, as soon as they please. He says now may be a good time, as the clos of persecution seems as though it might burst, and law expenses arise in consequence. It is sad to think of a free country in such a case. I fear some great crisis mny be at hand.

With much love to thee and all thine, I am thy affectionate friend, ESTHER STURGE.

Northfiet, near London, 2d mo. 26th, 1865.

TO THOMAS STURGE, ESQ. :

DEAR MR. STURGE-Our beloved and honored Miss Sturge's welcome letter to nfy mother, so kindly and condescendingly making me the medium of your gift to our cause, was received by us with the deepest feelings of gratitude. Nothing indeed could so strongly call forth those feelings as such an act, at such a time. It is the highest distinction and satisfaction possible to me, that the honored fellow-laborer of Zachary Macaulay and the first abolitionists, now departed, the friend Reply of the Secretary of the Western Asia Missions Aid and supporter of Garrison and his co-workers, the American abolitionists, among whom my family is numbered, should call and welcome me by name to this great first page, formed a part of the communication to which work. You have not mistaken me. I have always loved it, and wrought for it as a child. May it never cease to be in all my thoughts till the end is accomplished!

My husband unites in all my gratitude for this mos valued wedding gift. We both hope to be strengthened to serve the cause in France, as you and my parents have done in England and America,-knowing that what is done for justice in one country, goes to serve and save all others.

Ever, dear Mr. Sturge,

Yours, with most grateful and tender respect, E. B. CHAPMAN LAUGEL. March 2d, Paris, 21 Rue de Varenne,

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

John P. Jewett & Co. have just published very neat pocket volume, entitled the ' Daily Monitor being a portion of Scripture, an Anecdote, and a verse of a Hymn, for every day in the year. By Rev. John Allen. With an introduction by Rev. E. N. Kirk. From much of its peculiar theology, we utterly dissent.

The same enterprising firm have also just publishe two more volumes from the prolific pen of the Rev. mittee deeply regret the existence of slavery in the John Cumming, D.D., F. R. S. E., Minister of the Scot-United States, and the sanction given to the system, tish National Church, Crown Court, Covent Garden, the first entitled, 'THE DAILY LIFE; or Precepts and Prescriptions for Christian Living'-the second. 'San-They do not consider themselves responsible for the BATH MORNING READINGS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT a high pulpit reputation in London, and is always sure Mr. Young requests Miss Wigham's attention to the of a crowded auditory.

T. B. Peterson, 102 Chestnut Street, Philadel. phia, has just published, in a handsome volume of 360 pages, an Historical Novel, entitled 'KATE ATLESFORD Story of the Refugees, by CHARLES J. PETERSON. This is declared to be no mere catch-penny fiction, but merican Board, the real and exact truth is, that it still ful picture of the manners of '76, and one of the most occupies the same position it has ever done concerning slaveholders, slaveholding, and non-fellowship with the We have not had time to give it a careful perusal, but anti-slavery movement. It is still pro-slavery in its a cursory examination of it leads us to believe it is ably written, and abounds in highly effective passages. The Philadelphia papers notice it in very comme terms. It is for sale by Phillips, Sampson & Co., Win ter Street, Boston.

Redding & Co. 8 State Street, have published Letter addressed to the President of the United States I enclose \$5 for the aid of the Vigilance Committee of on Slavery, considered in relation to the Constitution loston, \$2 of which is the contribution of my friend Principles of Government in Great Britain and in the Stenhouse Martindale. The burden of resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law should not rest alone upon a pamphlet of 91 pages, and is written with ability, but who love freedom and abhor oppression should count it do not recommend emancipation; nor do we assert that a privilege to share it. captive Crusader? From his cell the prisoner hears the ery is not a malum in se, and may, or may not, be ex march of his troop, the ringing of bridle chains, and the sound of trumpets, and sees the flish of their spears, tion of Independence is a lie. Then the Golden Rule and the flutter of their pennons in the sun and wind. is only a pious flourish. The writer adds- We do think I can appreciate the captive's state of mind, maintain, and insist, that the General Government since illness, for the most part, has made me a specta- charged by the people with the duty of preserving and tor where I would fain have been an actor, for the past defending the rights of personal freedom for all, whe three or four years. Looking at the Fugflive Slave ther white or black'-though 'it may forbear, from rea Act and the Nebraska perfidy, I feel sometimes as if a sons of seeming necessity, to abolish slavery, and, for fering as an excuse for not doing a man's whole duty, of the Old States respectively within their own limits. in the great struggle now going on. But, daily ad- This is blowing hot and cold with the same breath monished that something more than a willing spirit is Such reasoning can neither enlighten the understanding needed, I can only try to cultivate the virtues nor impress the heart. Still, the pamphlet is valuable

Fourth Reader for Public and Private Schools ; con taining a thorough course of Preliminary Exercise in Articulation, Pronunciation, Accent, &c.; numerous exercises in Reading; a new system of References and a copious Explanatory Index. By Epes Sargent Boston : Phillips, Sampson & Co. pp. 382.

Mr. Sargent is a gentleman of fine literary taste and holastic acumen; and in the various works prepare by him for our public schools, he has won for himsel high commendations from those whose verdict in such volume of his series indicates a very elaborate prepara-tion; so that, as Mr. S. remarks in his Preface, *should

it not be found to meet the wants of teachers, it will be it not be round to make on the part of the author, of a be through inquiry into those wants, or of a pating very thorough inquiry works, throwing light special examination of all labors, which both the Old World and the New has

LETTERS ON SLAVERY, addressed to the Pro-Slavery lies of America; showing its Hiegality in all Agrand he of America, state of the state ment, Morals and Religion. By 0. 8. [Our Street FREEMAN. Boston: Bela Marsh, 15 Franklin sper

This is a neatly printed pamphlet of 108 page, a which are embodied much historical intelligence of the which are emboured many narray of authorities using subject or survey, tion and compacts to nullify the 'higher lay,' set a lucid argument to show that the pro-slavery spirit of the day is identical with ancient toryism, in its inpodent assumptions, its method of reasoning, and in the nial of human equality. It indicates labor and a diligent examination of the whole subject we commend it to the attention of all.

UP TO THE CHRISTIAN STANDARD The following religious action on the mint of slavery makes thorough work of it on the score of too. slavery makes thorough the highest applace me fellowship, and is not it will yet be the religion redict of the entire North, in ' the good time a Resolutions of the Church and Society of the Social

Parish in Marlboro'-Rev. Mr. Alger's. The Committee chosen July 2d, to prepare something expressive of the feelings of this church against the system of American slavery, ask leave to present the llowing preamble and resolutions :

Whereas, Slavery, as it exists in this country, is wholly at war with every principle of justice and inmanity; a direct violation of the precepts and doctring of Jesus Christ, and a heinous sin in the night of Gui -and whereas, upon a fair examination, we are ou vinced that the American church, as at present consituted, is its greatest safeguard and defence, without whose support it must inevitably fall to alone and in appear from our land ;-and whereas, a continuous union and fellowship with the individual churche our country without discrimination, involves as is to guilt of being participators in this national wrong;

Resolved, That we deem it the imperative day of Christians, both as individuals and in their ches to bear their decided and emphatic testimony atting and in all justifiable and Christian ways to exercise influence for its destruction.

Resolved. That we do not recognize as a Christian the Slaveholder, or the apologist or defender of the institution of slavery, as it exists in our land; and that we decidedly protest against the admission of any me to our pulpit, excepting these who at all times at Gab law above human enactments, and who have a voice lift up boldly in behalf of universal freedom, reman temperance, as well as the other moral and religions in

Resolved, That we decline all such connection other churches calling themselves Christians as that implicate us in any degree or in any way in the galle upholding and perpetuating slavery.

A. W. RICE, S. R. PHELPS, DENNIS WITHERBER, Parish Markin The above preamble and resolutions were sloped the church last summer, and on last Monday, at & annual parish meeting, by the entire parish. MARLBOROUGH, March 27, 1855.

EQUAL SCHOOL RIGHTS.

The Boston Evening Telegraph, of Tuesday, tains the following cheering report of the preceding in the House of Representatives on this vital questi

on that day :The bill 'in amendment of an act concerning p schools, passed March 24, 1845,' (abolishing all tinctions on account of color, race or religious spinis in the admission or membership of pupils,) came up order-the question being on its passage to a ti reading.

Mr. SLACE, of Boston, said he did not wish to det the House in arguing or pleading for this bill. It thought its merits would commend themselves to the propriety, justice and humanity of the House without argument. He was pleased to say, as he had author for doing, that if the bill could go into effect on and aller the 1st of September next, the Superintendent of Behook in Boston would do all in his power to carry out in

provisions. That period was the re-commencement of the school the year, and there being a six ween' to tion previous to that time, arrangements could be ly made by which all the children, without regard to color, race, religious opinions, social position, or other circumstance, could be accommodated. As this bill to plied solely to Boston, he was willing to recognize the uggestion; and he did it with pleasure in view of it anticipated aid of the Superintendent. He will therefore move to amend by inserting a section for fis going into operation of the bill on the let of September next, and in adopting that, he thought the House will be willing to pass the bill.

The amendment was adopted without opposition. Mr. NEAL, of Boston, said his sympathies were in vor of the bill, but he was bound to say, that w many of his constituents, and among them all the ored population, were in favor of the bill, another tion were strongly opposed to the proposed change.

Mr. Baldwin, of Boston, argued that mainers

well enough now in relation to School privilege Boston. He moved the indefinite postponement of the Mr. PRINCE, of Essex, ably and hur ported the bill, saying among other things he dent that Boston should be elevated and placed on a jed

with the country.

Mr. Kimnall of Salem, in a brief but perti apported the bill, alluding to the practice in Sains where colored children sat side by side with white. said the objection to the bill could only arise from a infounded and indefensible prejudice, which would not exist, was there no slavery of negroes in this country In contrast, he referred, beautifully and elicinity to the absence of this prejudice in France and Lig-

Mr. Lincoln, of Deerfield, thought it was a find honor to belong to the present Legislature, is ves the many excellent measures that would come from but he deemed the credit would be suffied if sad beneficent measure as this should fail.

Mr. Dewing, of North Chelsea, wanted to keep colored children had not now every accommodate that they needed in the Boston schools.

Mr. Swift, of Boston, eloquently replied, the ing in East Baston, and going to Belknap street in struction in all weather, and at the trouble of a sm while white children, the dirtiest Irish included, or step into the nearest school-house to their house 'every accommodation,' then they did have then continued in a brief but earnest appeal for the the establishment of a great principle.

Messrs. Smith, of Milford, and Rice, of North

lowed briefly but ably for the bill. The previous question was then ordered, the to indefinitely postpone rejected by an overall vote, and the bill ordered to a third reading with affirmative shout, not more than half a dozen

we doubt not that the Senate will ratify the se of the House on this subject with equal alarity thus establish equal school rights for all children Commonwealth, whatever their complexion or origin

defer the remainder of the proceedings of the Ner Island Non-Resistance Convention till next, week.

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For the Liberator. SONNET.

TO THE MEMORY OF CYRUS M. BURLETON. Absent, not lost-removed from earth, not dead-Existent still, but in a higher sphere :-What though from us thy mortal form has fied? Where'er thon art, as when incarnate here, If Right is struggling 'gainst a hostile throng, If Justice needs a champion bold and true, Thou wilt be foremost to redress the wrong, And all the powers of darkness to subdue. Though early summoned to the spirit-land, Thy earthly life, by noble words and deeds, Was long-extended :- heart, and voice, and hand, Thou gar'st to Freedom in her direst needs. Oh, for thy seal to free the fettered slave, Forever hallowed be thy lowly grave! Boston, April 2, 1865.

DECEASE OF C. M. BURLEIGH.

We find the following interesting letter, in relation the illness and death of our much lamented friend and condition, Cynus M. Buerron, in the last numher of the Ohio Asti-Slavery Bugle. It bears the initisks of B. Resst PLUMLEY.

PHILADELPHIA, March 10, 1855. DEAR M.: To day we have committed to the earth all that was mortal of that true friend of Freedom, CYRUS M. Beakson, one of the brothers in that gifted family, whose name has become inseparably connected with the anti-Savery cause in America, and therefore with the

Anti-Siavery cause in America, and therefore with the life of the world forever.

Mr. Benderou's health has been impaired for some time past, and in January he left the city for the quiet home of dear friends in the country, about thirty miles distant, hoping much from repose. But his disease being pulmonary, a succession of hemorrhages diminished is remaining strength, and after severe and protracted. pulmonary, a succession of nemorrhages diminished remaining strength, and after severe and protracted ring, in which his faith did not fail him, undismaying the approach of death, tranquil and conscious to ast, he died on the 7th inst., in the thirty-sixth year

of his age. Mr. Burleigh was attracted to the Anti-Slavery morement early in life, and about 1839 began his first public labor in New England. In 1846 he came to Philadelphia, and one year afterwards accepted the call of the Escative Committee to the editorial care of the Panagleania Freeman, where he continued, with occasional associates, and a few intermissions, until compelled by ill health to resign his duties in March,

An elitor of the Freeman, he was also a member of An alter of the Executive Committee, where his valuable counsel and indefatigable industry were fully appreciated. During the tine years he was actively engaged in the field as a letturer, whenever his editorial labors periods. mitted, making extensive excursions into parts of Pennwivania, New Jersey and Delaware, where Anti-Slavery gyranis, New Jersey and Detayare, whether with rare assiduiry and devotion braving the inclement seasons, and the more savage and inhospitable projudices of the people, toiling on patiently and honefully, in the slow but sure processes to that martyring.

hopefully, in the slow out sure processor.

And which at last befel him.

He was a man of admirable intellect, and of an excellent spirit, the former furnished by judicious industry, the latter quickened by a vigorous sense of duty. An elequent speaker, a foroible writer, an acute and complete the state of the state chemive observer of events, with an intelligent appre-tion of the Reforms which characterize our time, but pation of the technical with a regarding Anti-Slavery as his first care, he was ready for whatever service the occasion demanded, performing the dradgery of the cause, with the same thoroughness. intelligence and devotion with which he proclaimed its profoundest principles, or enjoyed its highest privi-

Of such clearness in his perceptions of duty, and such singleness of purpose in its performance, the doubt that impede some, and the fears that mislead others, were unknown to him, and if occasionally there might appear somewhat of severity in his moral judg-ments of persons and events, it was but the result of his habitual reference of all things to principles, rather than to persons, the steady effort to bring life to the test of

to persons, the steady chort to oring the to the text of the absolute and the universal.

Few among us succeeded better than he 'to remember those in bonds as bound with them,' to put the soul in the stead of the soul that suffers, to feel and speak as the slave would do of his wees and wrongs. Brave and just by nature and from principle, he could neither comprehend nor tolerate cowardice or meanness, alcomprehens nor interact covariates or meanines, at-though no man was more merciful to the erring, or more sympathizing with the suffering, than he. Simple and singularly pure in his tastes and habits, affectionate and loyal in his relations, he was respected and beloved. To how many hearth-stones will the tid-

ings of his death bring a shadow.

Who will sapply his place in the great work before us? Lo! the fields are ripe unto harvest, but the laborers are few, and of the few, how many have

in the service of others, in the consecration of all that a man has and all that he is to his highest apprehension of duty, then Mr. BURLETON'S was eminently a religious life.

membered in its weakness and defeat, will not forget him in its strength and triumph. Truth and Justice but await the string period to vindicate their defenders. Time is charged with the sacred mission of preserving their memories, and presenting them to the future, set in relief against the darkness of the ages that denied

Christianty, or the Reformation, men will begin to realize their indebtedness to its early advocates, who, with simple reliance on the power of Truth, went forth to the labor and the sacrifice Proceeding with are in-thilligence and unflagging zeal to the re-annunciation of Principles, filler into different surrect these who had principles, fallen into disfavor among those who had leadest professed them, patiently submitting to practical seclusion from the sympathy and society of cotemporaries, cheerfully enduring privation, obloquy and cutrage, awaiting, in the serenity of faith, the hour of the Truth's triumph, and of their own historic justifications.

the runn's triumph, and of their own historic justifica-tion,—as sure to come as day and night, seed-time and harvest, summer and winter.

To this unfailing compensation of the moral universe, this infallible justice of humanity, we committed the name and character of our friend and brother, whom et shall miss from the places that knew him, more and sore.

B. R. P.

We make the following extracts from a letter reseived from our esteemed friend, MARY GREW, of Phil-

'It was my privilege to attend, for several days, at the dying bed of our friend Cyrus Burleigh, and to hear many of the last words of one who had most faithfully devoted his life, from early youth, to the cause of the enslaved. One day, as I sat by his bedside, he said to me, 'Give my love to WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON and NEXUELL PHILLIPS, and tell them that I love and bonor them for their fidelity to the Anti-Slavery cause, and other Reforms of the present time; that it is a great comfort to me, now, as I am departing, to know that such men as they are living in this world; that I carnestly pray God's blessing on them; that I know He will bless n; that I have a warm love for them, personally, but I love them far more for their devotion to the cause of Reform.

He spoke these words slowly and faintly, but with a full heart. Until within a few weeks of his death, he cherished the hope of partial recovery and protracted life. He carnestly desired to live, for he felt that he had not finished the work of life. But when he saw that death was inevitable, he lost the wish to live; and, during his last days, he desired, earnestly, to depart. his mind was unclouded to the last, and he frequently and ferrently expressed his unabated confidence in the principles and measures of the enteprise to which he had davoted his life, and his firm belief in its ultimate tri-

In his death, the Pennsylvania Society has lost a most valuable agent, and the American Abolitionists a true-hearted and faithful condjutor. It seems as though we could not well spare the faithful once of our small band, but we know that all is of God,' and that 'He doeth all things well.'

BENJAMIN S. JONES, in a note to the Anti-Slav-

ery Bugle, respecting Mr. BURLERGH's demise, says :-'A few days before his death, a friend had been reading him a portion of the prayer of Jesus, in the 17th chapter of John, and when she ceased, he said faintly and slowly, "What a glorious satisfaction it must be to any soul to be able to say, 'I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.' "This satisfaction was unquestionably his. Though gentle and unassuming as a child, yet he possessed, the stern integrity of truth; and in his devotion to the Right, ever manifested the self-actificing spirit of the martyr. Kindness of heart and the geniality of his disposition pervaded his entire

Resolved, That, in the consecration of youth and

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, held on the 15th

this Executive Committee has lost a valued member, we hope and believe, will make his views on slavery se Society a most earnest and faithful coadjutor, who, in purpose and position in regard to it.] the various offices which he was called to fill, labored with untiring devotedness to the cause of Human Free-

sacrificing zeal, the unfailing faith of our beloved broth- having been engaged in obstructing the law during the er, we have an example which should incite us to trial of Anthony Burns, on the 26th day of May last, renewed diligence in our efforts in behalf of the slave's came on in the U. S. Circuit Court, before Justices Cur

JAMES MOTT, Chairman. MARY GREW, Secretary.

From the Boston Evening Telegraph of Friday. MR. SUMNER'S LECTURE.

contrasted the fierce proscription of that period with the toleration, or rather the favor with which Anti-Slavery was now viewed, even in Boston, to show that the twenty years of struggle had been also twenty years. This procedure we regard as quite extraordinary and

He then gave a concise and powerful delineation of slavery as it is essentially—quoting the Slave laws as its proper definition, and proving that it reduced men into chattels, persons into things. That was sufficient to condemn it. No matter for details or exceptions. An institution which by its very nature did that, needed no argument to prove its self-evident wickedness. Slavery being evidently wrong and wicked, there was an equally evident necessity for the Anti-Slavery Ensemble.

The scriptural detences of slavery were time examinated, beginning with the curse promounced upon Canaan, dooming him to be the servant of Shem and Japhet. To sustain this defence, Mr. Sumner said it would be necessary to prove that the slaves were all descended from Canaan, that the curse was intended to apply not only to him but to all of his descendants, that every descendant of Shem and Japhet is entitled to hold them seeds a conclusive that every slave holder is a descend. as slaves, and lastly, that every slaveholder is a descend-ant of Shem or Japhet.

Mr. Sumner then read Paul's epistle to Philemon to

of the end of the institution.

To the plea that emancipation would be dargerous to the Slaveholder, that the Slaves, if free, would cut their former masters' throats, Mr. Sumner replied that it was a monstrous paradox to maintain that when the whites should begin to treat the blacks justly, to give them wives and children, to give them the blessings of education, in a word, to give them freedom, that then the blacks would cut their throats, although while deproject of all these things, they forbore to take revenge.

The U. S. Marshal has been committed to jail for contempt of Court, in refusing to produce the slave Rosetta before Judge Parker. It has been found that Rosetta before Judge Parker. It has been found that

them wives and children, to give them the blessings of education, in a word, to give them freedom, that then the blacks would cut their throats, although while deprived of all these things, they forbore to take revenge, and showed anything but a maddened or vindictive spirit.

The practicability of the anti-slavery enterprise, Mr. Summer said, was certain, because it was right. Whater it was right to do could be done. What was proposed to be done? Simply this. To secure to the slaves the marriage relation, to give them a right to their wives and children, to give them a right to their wives and children, to give them an equivalent for their labor. Would any man say that these things could not be done? It was a libel on human nature and on the American people to maintain that they were impracticable. Yet do these things, give the slave his wife and children, so that they shall be his and not another's, give him the right to education, give him remuneration for his labor, and slavery is at an end.

Mr. Summer continued his lecture with remarks on the dignity of the Anti-Slavery Enterprise. It was the noblest cause that ever men engaged in. It was noble from its magnitude; noble from the transcendant genus and character that had been devoted to its service; and with whom we have no other sympathy or ties than that which flows from a lofty and generous conviction of the brotherhood of man.

Mr. Summer closed with a splendid appeal to the citizens of the Free States on their duty with regard to Slavery. In the course of it, he gave the following unistakable evidence of his opinion of the ease of Judge Loring. From so learned a lawyer as Mr. Summer, speaking with the cautionness demanded by his high efficial position, no less than by what is due to his direction of the brotherhood of man.

Mr. Summer closed with a splendid appeal to the citizens of the Free States on their duty with regard to Slavery. In the course of it, he gave the following uninstakable evidence of his opinion of the ease of Judge Loring. From so

octained until morning.

'But without waiting for the overthrow of the slave power on the broad field of national politics, it must be first overthrown here on the soil of Massachusetts. (Applause.) Here within our own borders at once the plantse.) Here within our own borders at once the maneipate ourselves. 'A lie,' says Carlyle,' should be trampled out and extinguished forever;' and nothing less should be done with a tyrannical and wicked enactment. The Fugitive Slave Bill, should it continue longer on the statute book, must be made a dead letter; not by violence, not even by hasty condict between jurisdictions; but by an aroused Public Opinion, which shall blast with contempt, indignation and abhorrence, all who descended to be its agents. (Applause.) Thus did our fathers blast all who descended to be the agents of the tyrannical Stanop Act. Let their example be your all-sufficient guide. But the Fugitive Slave Bill is more alrocious, far, than the wrong which aroused what John Adams called their 'unconquerable rage.' The slave trader, who draws his victim from Africa, is loathed as a monster; but I defy any neuteness of logic to shad or the moral difference between his act and that of the man who drags his victim from Massachusetts. (Applause.) A few puny persons, calling themselves the Congress of the Emigrant Aid Society, left Boston on the 20th irreversible law of God; they cannot make him wicked irreversible law of God; they cannot make him wicked irreversible law of God; they cannot make him wicked irreversible law of God; they cannot make him wicked irreversible law of God; type cannot make him wicked irreversible law of God; type cannot make him wicked irreversible law of God; type cannot make him wicked irreversible law of God; type cannot make him wicked irreversible law of God; type cannot make him wicked irreversible law of God; type cannot make him wicked irreversible law of God; type cannot make him wicked irreversible law of God; type cannot make him wicked irreversible law of God; they cannot

life. By his works of goodness, by his labors of benevolence, by his deeds of righteousness, "he being dead yet speaketh," and may we who remain hearken to his voice."

Cyrus M. Burleigh.—This earnest, efficient and tried friend of the Slave is no more of earth. His death has been noticed at length, in several of our exchanges. Less than a month prior to his decease, he was united by marriage to Margaret Jones.

So they fall, one by one, these men of the American Martyr Age. Let no one's hand be slack while he can do. The night of life's busy day comes on apace. Each one should now act well his part.

At a meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, held March Sth, 1855, the following resolutions were passed, and directed to be sent to the Standard for publication:

Resolved, That, by the death of Cyrus M. Burleigh, the American Abolitionists have lost a most valuable and faithful fellow-laborer, whose carnest and self-sacrificing devotedness to the Anti-Slavery cause, for many years, has strengthened their hands in their arduous work.

Resolved, That, in the consecration of youth and

Resolved, That, in the consecration of youth and manhood to an holy but unpopular Reform, and in the fidelity with which he redeemed his early pledge of fealty to it, he has left a noble example to his coadjutors, who deeply deplore the loss which they have sustained in his death.

Extracted from the Minutes.

Suban M. Shaw, Secretary.

At a Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, held on the 16th. We need scarcely say that Mr. Sumner was greeted

Mr. SUMNER re-delivered his admirable lecture instant, the following resolutions were unanimously in the Tremont Temple, on Friday evening last, to adopted; and the Secretary was directed to send them to the National Anti-Slavery Standard for publication. DAY, April 6,) the concluding lecture of the course will Resolved, That in the death of Cyrus M. Burleigh, be given in the Temple by Hon. HENRY WILSON, who and the members of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery clear and explicit as to terminate all doubts as to his

TRIAL OF THE BURNS RIOTERS. The trial of Martin Stowell, Rev. T. W. Higginson and others, (Mr. Stow-Resolved, That, in the unswerving fidelity, the self- ell's case being the first one taken up,) charged with tis and Sprague, on Tuesday last. B. F. Hallett, Esq. U. S. District Attorney, appeared for the prosecution assisted by E. W. Merwin, Esq.; and Hon. John P. Hale, C. M. Ellis and Wm. L. Burt, Esqs. for the de fendants. Mr. Stowell's indictment having been read, his counsel moved that it be quashed, for several rea-There was a crowded audience last night at the Tre- sons. The Court decided to hear the motion, and ac

There was a crowded audience last night at the Tremont Temple to hear Charles Sumner lecture on 'the Necessity, the Practicability, and the Dignity of the Anti-Slavery Enterprise.' The Governor of the Commonwealth, and many other distinguished citizens occupied the platform, on which also sat the liberated slaves, Anthony Burns and Ida May.

Mr. Sumner began by describing the famous Boston mob of 1835, which broke up the meeting of the Female Anti-Slavery Society, and dragged Garrison through the street with a halter round his neck. He contrasted the fierce procedurity on of that period with of progress.

He then gave a concise and powerful delineation of slavery as it is exeminally quanting the Slaver laws of

> the cause of the enslaved on the anti-slavery platform and also respecting the American Anti-Slavery Society,

Down with the Gallows !- Our last page is wholly occupied with the elaborate, eloquent and demonstrativ speech made by JOHN A. ANDREW, Esq. before the Leg-

Fears are entertained for the safety of the United States brig Porpoise, which left Hong Kong in September last, on a cruise, in company with the Vin-cennes. She parted company with the latter vessel when nine or ten days out, and has not been heard of

The Boston Chronicle says, that out of the

Georgia, was destroyed by fire on the 24th inst. Over forty buildings were consumed, including the Court House, Post Office, Masonic and Odd Fellows Hall, the

has a rumor that Gen. Sam Houston intends to issue a circular on the 6th of March next, announcing himself as an independent candidate for the Presidency.

Onslaught on a Boot-Black .-- A Southerner on Wednesday, in New York, drew a bowie-knife upon the boot-black of the Irving House. The artist in Day & Martin defended himself with the coal scuttle, and the knight of the knife was escorted to the Tombs. Presidential Movement at the South.-The

Columbia paper recommends a Southern Convention to be called before the usual time for holding the National Convention, and to consist of an equal number of Whigs and Democrats from all the Southern States. A platform is to be agreed upon, and a pledge givent o support the nominee of the national party, be he Whig or Democrat, who shall in good faith adopt that The Colored Girl Rosetta - Cincinnati,

The Colored Girl Rosetta — Cincinnati, March 29.—Rosetta, a colored girl, who was some time since brought into this State from Kentucky, by an agent of her master, and declared free by a State court at Columbus, and a guardian appointed, was to-day arrested under the Fugitive Slave Law. The case came before Judge Parker, who decided that the girl was entitled to her freedom, having been brought into the State by her owner, or his representative. Some excitement was created by the U. S. Marshal attempting to arrest her after the decision, and a riot was apprehanded. The girl was, however, safely consigned to day and evening.

cured from the surplus hands at Lawrence, Nashua, Lowell and Blackstone, and we learn that the agents have made no concession, and that the work is done on

The Defences of Havana .- An Havana The Defences of Havana.—An Havana letter to the New Orleans Bulletin says:—'We have now this Island in a perfect state of defence—equipped, ready to spill their last drop of blood in defence of what they consider their rights and their government. There is one great fact that speaks volumes in favor of the volunteer militia; it is this: over \$200,000 have been required to be spent in the different parts of the Island to equip (uniform, &c.) the militia, and every cent of that money has been willingly and cheerfully spent by the volunteers as they enlist. Havana alone goes in for a share of nearly one-half that amount.'

LECTURE FAST-DAY EVENING.

LECTURE FAST-DAY EVENING.

The unity of the human race and the recent aggressions of the Slave Power.'
Single tickets 25 cents, and packages containing 8 are sold for 50 cents, and 8 for \$1—to be had at Ticknow's and Jewett's Bookstores, and Anti-Slavery and Telegraph offices.

Mrs. S. S. Richardson, of Northboro', gave birth to two boys and one girl on Monday last. They are in season for Barnum's Baby-show in June. In 1853, there were five triplets in this State.

Margaret Sullivan, recently gave birth to four living children—two boys and two girls. She and the babies are reported all well.

Convention of Christianized Jews .- A conconvention of Christianized Jews.—A convention of Christianized Jews is to be held in New York cits in May next. A correspondent of the Rochester Advertiser says that a prominent matter to be brought before the convention is the consideration of the return of the Jewish people to Palestine, and to take measures to co-operate with the Jews in England (who have already moved in the matter) and other parts of the Eastern world.

Miss Catharine Haves gave a concert at Calcutta on the 15th of January. She is the first prima donna that has visited the Hindoos, and therefore she created much excitement. The high price of admission—86 90 for reserved, and \$4 60 for other seats—created great dissatisfaction.

The Kanzas Election—Pro-Slavery Ticket
Chosen.—Independence, Mo., April 1.—We have returns from Kansas, showing the election of the proslavery ticket at Bull Creek, Lawrence, Douglas, Doephan, Tecunseh, Shawnee Mission, and Hookey Point,
by majorities from 200 to 500. The elections were county. Hon. Thomas M. Woodruff, formerly member
asse Free Kalse was docked in Kew riser, by a mob,
ducted with tolerable quietude. The editor of the Kansase Free Kalse was docked in Kew riser, by a mob,
and toled with tolerable quietude. The editor of the Kansase Free Kalse was docked in Kew riser, by a mob,
large procession paraded here to celebrate the victory.

If Just as we expected. Kansas will be a slave
State, beyond a peradeventure. The following pargraph shows what was the spirit that prevailed before
the election:

The election for Representatives comes off on the
30th inst., and from present appearances, it will be a
sharp and bloody contest. Not a boat passes up, the
river, but at every landing this side of Kansas, the frest
question asked is, have you any emigrants on board,
and where are they from? For every man sent out by
the Ald Society, from the East, two will be sent from
the towns along the river. They talk seriously of blockading the river, and not letting boats pass up, having Eastern men on board, in the language of a kansas,
slaveholder we have on board, we are bound to protect
our rights, peaceably, if we can, foreibly, if we must;
and I fear the election will not pass without scenes of
bloodshed and marder. "Correspondent of the Kansas
Journal.

The Transcript says that Rev. John
Fierpont will be 70 years of uge on Friday next, [this
day.] He has just returned from an extensive tour
through the west, and the Painesville Triegraph is the
day, I have each foreibly, if we must;
and I fear the election will not pass without scenes of
bloodshed and marder. "Correspondent of the Kansas
Journal.

The Transcript says that Rev. John
Fierpont will be 70 years of uge on Friday next, [this
day.] He

Miss Clark, from New Hampshire, died in Paris on the 5th, of typhoid fever, after seven weeks illness. She was twenty years of age, possessed great personal beauty, and is said to have exhibited unusual worst of all is, that it has led to such recrimination and allenation that they have separated, never to be and allenation that they have separated, never to be On the morning of the 12th inst., the dwelling house of Autonio Gendron, in Canada West, took fire, and before assistance could be obtained, three of its immates were burned to askes! One, an adopted daughter of Mrs. Geddron, aged about 22 years of age; the other two, aged ten and twelve years, daughters of a Mr. Gagne, who was living in Mr. Gendron's house.

Sad Spectacle.—Forty-eight profligate young

Mr. Gagne, who was living in Mr. Gendron's house.

Sale of the Webster Property.—The Journal's correspondent gives an account of the sale at Marshfield, on Wednesday. The sale was conducted in such manner as to reserve in the family, in accordance with the wishes of the deceased statesman, the Mansion-house and surrounding lands, between three and four hundred acres in extent, comprising the whole of Mr. Webster's original purchase—while other extensive and valuable grounds, afterwards added, together with the remaining stock on the farm, were disposed of at fair prices for the benefit of the estate. The aggregate sales amounted to about fifteen thousand dollars.

Sad Spectacle.—Forty-eight profligate young women, arrested by the officer of justice, while engaged into the Mayor's Office yesterday morning, well night filling the apartment. A crowd of curious persons through the entrance and approaching passages. The street-walkers were chiefly from Mercer and Church streets, and had been arrested by order of Mayor Wood. After examination, thirty of them were sent to Black-walkers were chiefly from Mercer and Church streets, and had been arrested by order of Mayor Wood. After examination, thirty of them were sent to Black-walkers were chiefly from Mercer and Church streets, and had been arrested by order of Mayor Wood. After examination, thirty of them were sent to Black-walkers were chiefly from Mercer and Church streets, and had been arrested by the officer of justice, while engaged into the Mayor's Office yesterday morning, well night into the Mayor's Office yesterday morning, well nigh which, in some cases, the certain ravages of threaten speedily to terminate. -N. Y. Paper.

Mr. Vanderbilt is about to establish line of steamers between Havre and New York, to commence running on the 21st day of April.

Prince Torionia, the last of the Colonna, The Earl of Stanhope has died, aged 74. He is, after fifteen years marriage, about to become a father. To show his joy, he has proclaimed that he will give one thousand crowns to every child in Rome born on the same day as his heir.

In New Orleans, on the 14th ultimo, forty-four hundred persons who died in that city last persons the died in that city last persons who died in that city last persons who died in that city last persons who died in that city last there were sold 175 negroes for the sum of \$113,750, year, over one thousand were buried by one man.

A large portion of the town of Sandersville, slaves were sold for \$76,855, an average of \$620 each, and 51 were sold for \$36,395, which would give an average of \$723.each. The New York Post acknowledges the

House, Post Office, Masonic and Odd Fellows Hall, the Central Georgian printing office, and every store in the town. The loss is estimated at \$120,000.

Sam Houston.—The Anderson Central Texan has a runner that Gen. Sam Houston intends to issue at the same of the school-house.

Matices of Meetings, &c.

ANNUAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION IN CINCINNATI, OHIO.

To be held on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, the 25th, 26th, and 27th days of April, 1855. Distinguished advocates of this great movement, from various parts of the country, are expected to take part in the Convention. Henest differences of opinion, as to the best means of accomplishing the great object, may exist; but in this we perceive no sufficient reason to hinder Anti-Slavery people of overy grade, sex, or color, from acting zealously together against the common evil; and we earnestly invite the hearty co-operation of all

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in Marlboro' Town Hall, on Sunday, April 8, forenoon and afternoon, on Home and its Influence; and in the evening, on Slavery, its influence on the Domestic Re-lations of slaves and slaveholders. Also, in Westminster, on the same subjects, on Sunday, April 15.

TO PARENTS AND GUARDIANS .- A ra chance now presents itself for obtaining a permanent schlarship in Antioch College; the possessor having the right of transfer to successive pupils. For terms, make early application to

WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

HELP WANTED.—A few young women, competent for the several departments of domestic service, can learn of good situations in the country.

A strong and active colored man wishes to obtain a situation as a porter in a mercantile or dry goods establishment. Specially worthy of encouragement.

Apply to WM. C. NELL,
Registry for Help, 21 Cornhill.

F A young man of requisite abilities can obtain ituation in a Female Academy and Boarding-house.

Apply to WM. C. NELL, 21 Corabill.

MARRIED-In Philadelphia, on the 7th ult., in accordance with the marriage extensory of the Society of Friends, PLINY SEXTON, of Fa'myra, N. Y, to CHARLOTE SECW, of Elliotteville, N. Y.

HOPEDALE JUVENILE AND COLLEGIATE

HOME SCHOOL. HOPEDALE, MILPORD, MASS. BESIGNED FOR YOUTH OF BOTH SEXES.

Sanctioned by the Authorities of the Hopedale Commu-MR. M. L. AND MRS. S. L. BLOOM,

PHYSICAL HEALTH AND DEVELOPMENT, MENTAL DISCIPLINE, CULTURE OF THE AFFECTIONAL NATURE.

The first Summer Term, consisting of twenty-two weeks, will commence Thursday, May 3, 1855. TERMS.

(PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.)

Instruction in Reading, Spelling, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Grammar, Analysis, Composition, History, Physiology, First Lessons in Natural Philosophy, Elocution, Intellectual and Elementary Algebra, Elementary Drawing, Rudiments of Vocal Music; board, washing, mending, fuel, lights, use of textbooks, access to the Library, stationery; Calisthenics or Gymnastic exercises, use of velocipedes, wagons, sleighs, bats, balls, hoops, grace hoops and pointers, battledoors and shuttlecocks, dissected games, puzzles, etc., (per quarter of eleven weeks.)

EXTRAS,

(WITH USE OF TEXT-BOOK.) Elements of Agriculture...... 50

extra.

Oil-Painting, Mono-Chromatic Drawing, and all other branches, taught in the Institution, at reasonable

For other extra branches, see Circular. ARTICLES NECESSARY TO BE FUR-NISHED BY THE PUPIL.

(And which, if not convenient to obtain, may be had at the Institution at the retail price.) Hair-brush and comb, tooth-brush, and a cake of Castile scap, four toilet towels, a pair of slippers or light shoes, umbrella, blacking-brusii and blacking, Web-ster's School Dictionary, and a Pocket Bible. All articles and wearing apparel must be plainly

All pupils must come provided with pieces of cloth corresponding to their clothes—as we cannot agree to piece their clothes unless this is done.

Each pupil must bring a complete list of articles brought by him, a duplicate of which will be required by the Principals.

A LIMITED NUMBER OF DAY PUPILS WILL BE RECEIVED.

p. For terms, see Circular.

For Circulars, containing full information,
lease address the Principals.

March 30.

6w

New Book by Mrs. Stowe.

THE MAY-FLOWER.

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS. BY HARRIET BEECHER STOWE,

Author of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' 'Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands,' &c. In one vol. 12mo, nearly 500 pp.

With a steel vignette title, and a splendid portrait, from the picture by RICHMOND, the celebrated English artist.

Price, \$1 25.

THIS volume contains many of the early productions of Mrs. Stowe, now out of print, as well as some of her later efforts. Many of these are stories of New England life, and will be found to contain in full measure the aptness of epithet, and the mingled humor and pathos for which the author is so universally admired. The sons and daughters of New England, wherever they are scattered, will recognize with delight the homethey are scattered, will recognize with delight the home-ly yet touching fidelity of these sketches.

Will be published April 7th.

Orders from the Trade respectfully solicited.

PHILLIPS, SAMPSON & CO. PUBLISHERS.

13 WINTER STREET, BOSTON

2p

MOTORPATHY.

State by her owner, or his representative. Some excitement was created by the U. S. Marshida attempting to arrest her after the decision, and a riot was apprehended. The girl was, however, safely consigned to the eare of her friends.

Murderers in New York.—There are now in the Toombs at New York, twelve persons who are shortly to be tried for the crime of murler. The majority of the murderers are foreigners, and several of them cannot speak the English language.

**Winderers are foreigners, and several of them cannot speak the English language.

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**Winderers are foreigners, and safety will hold its ninetenth annual metals and the safety will hold its ninetenth annual metals and the safety will hold its ninetenth annual metals and the English language and the safety will hold its ninetenth annual metals and the safety will hold the safety will ho

ality.

Consultations, [hours from 10 A. M. to 1 P. M.,]
without charge. His work on Motorpathy will be sent
postage free to any address, on the receipt of ten postage stamps; or it can be had of him at 25 cents.

References : Reference:

Rev. Dr. Cleveland, Northampton; Captain Willis Howes, and E. M. Baker, South Boston; Mrs. Samuel Dana, Bulfinch Place, Boston; Rev. Nathaniel Hall, Dorchester, and Hon. C. C. Dyer, Hanover, Mass.; Hon. F. Cushing, and Lady Frankfort, and H. Barrett, Waterville, Me. A. G. Dana, M.D., Brandon, Vt.; J. B. Treadwell, St. Nicholas's Hotel; Joseph S. Tucker, Esq., Stewart's Store, Broadway, New York; and Profersor George Bush, Editor N. C. Repository, Brooklyn, New York.

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CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

SPEECH JOHN A. ANDREW, ESQ., BEFORE THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE, Thursday, March 22, 1855.

[PRONGGRAPHIC REPORT BY J. M. W. TERRISTON.]

Thursday, March 22, 1955.

[FRONDORAPHIC REFORT BY J. M. W. YERRISTON.]

Mr. Chairman:—The discussion of this question has been so ample, that nothing more seems to me needful by way of illustration or enforcement of the principles upon which the potitioners ask for the abolition of the Death Penalty. But it seems desirable, for the parposes of the Committee, that we should endeavor to present some brief array of the facts and historical proofs which have been referred to incidentally, in the course of this discussion, and which, we contend, fully support—so far as history and experience can support—the expediency of the proposition which is submitted to the Legislature. And it is extremely satisfactory, to feet that the subject is one on which there can be but one tendency of mind,—no matter what may be the opinion,—there can be but one tendency of mind,—no matter what may be the opinion,—there can be but one tendency of mind,—no matter what may be the opinion,—there can be but one tendency of one constitution of the course way, if possible, by which the Death Penalty may be avoided. Nobody seeks an excuse for extending it. No gentleman would feel disappointed, if he could be convinced that, beyond all doubt, the Death Penalty could be asfely abandoned. And I am inclined to believe, that, if this discussion has entirely cleared away the difficulties some gentlemen feel, growing out of its theological relations, all the substantial obstacles which lie in anybody's path are entirely removed; for I do not believe that any one who has ever bestowed any thought at all to the investigation of this subject, by reference to principles, to the facts of history and experience, ever folt himself left, at last, in such a state of dismay, that he would not, as a legislator, dare to try the experiment of the abolition—deat to try the experiment of the abolition—deat for crime, hereafter. The statute, made this year by you, may be repealed or modified by your successors the next year. No Legislators can do more than to take

Let us dare to try the experiment of a more humane legislation; let us look to see whether there is any light reflected from experience and from history.

Before going into that branch of the inquizzy, let me first state the case:—

"The point them at which we seem to have arrived is this: We cannot justify patting a criminal to death on the plea of protecting society from his outrages,—because confinement would be equally effectual; nor by the plea of reforming him, for this is excluded by his death; nor by the plea of taking vengeance on him, for this is generally disavowed; nor by that of deterring others from crime who are still gniltless, because he is not answerable for them, or in any way connected with them. From these considerations, it appears to follow that, in dealing with offenders, we are bound to restrict ourselves to those punishments which, while they shall be equally efficacious in providing for the protection of society, shall be the least injurious to the criminal, and that these are only two in number, vis: confining a culprit for life; or, subjecting him to a temporary discipline sufficient to produce such a change in his dispositions, that, after undergoing it, he shall be fitted to return to society, cared of the inclination to infringe its laws."—Westminster Review, of April, 1854.

I think that states the argument with substantial accuracy and correctness, and I adopt it as my own.

April, 1834.

I think that states the argument with substantial accuracy and correctness, and I adopt it as my own.

I come now to the inquiry, what has been the experience of those states and nations who have tried the experiment of the abolition of the death penalty! If it is useful to put men to death for crime, there must be some good effect produced by it. And there ought to be no doubt in this matter, because the experience of the world has been long enough, the gallows has had victims enough, to have given an experience, on that side of the argument, so rich and so ample that there could be no room for controversy. And yet we are met at the outset—if we were to think for a moment that this ancient system of putting men to death for crime had worked well, (judging merely from what we know of the general effect by incidental information,)—we are met at the outset by the testimony of a man as keen in his observation, as thorough in his learning, as conspicuous for his legal position, as Henry Brougham, late Lord Chaucellor of England; and I will read to you an extract from a speech made by him some eighteen years ago, when Mr. Ewart's motion to limit the panishment of death to cases of actual murder was pending in the British Parliament, I quote from the writings of Sydney Taylor, (p. 263.) Sydney Taylor was a barrister of distinction, who devoted considerable time to the investigation of this subject, and was a warm advocate for the abolition of the Death Penalty. Lord Brougham said, in 1837:

"His firm belief and conviction were, that capital punishment had failed in all and every

"His firm belief and conviction were, that capital punishment had failed in all and every case—even in those cases of murder for which alons it was justifiable, if justifiable at all.—Whether the punishment of death should be inflicted, even for murder, was an opinion which had for a considerable time been discussed:—into the merits of that discussion he would not then enter, farther than that, if the punishment of death should be retained, it should be for that crime only; yet, even for that he thought its tendency was not the prevention of crime: on the contrary, it tended to heatalize the mind, and to parpare man for the commission of that very crime for which alone, if retained at all, it ought to be continued."

I am not aware that any gentleman in this

here the street is the street in the semistrative the mind, and to perpare men for the commission of that very crime for which alone, if retained at all, it ought to be continued."

I am not aware that any gentleman in this hall is so ultra in his view of capital punishment that he could, if he attempted it, go any further than Lord Brougham. The advocates of the Death Penality maintain that its infliction as a punishment for murder is necessary for the security of life. But the punishment of death for murder, as well as for other crimes, has turned out, within the experience and information of Lord Brougham himself, to have been a failure,—a failure in Great Britain, a failure on the continent, a failure every where. If there is a man in Great Britain who is learned in all matters relating to law and law reform, it is Henry Brougham, himself one of the original leaders in law reform; having devoted the best years of a long life to an extensive practice at the bar, having been elevated to the wool-sack, and since then, a constant, active, laborious member of the House of Lords,—and he states, as the result of the experience and learning of a life-time, that the penality of death, as a panishment for crime, has proved to be a failure, not only for minor and secondary offences, but even for the offence of murder itself.

Well, gentlemen, you and I have a common cause; we have a common purpose; we equally desire the protection and safety of our families. Do you feel afraid that you cannot be safe at night if this experiment should be tried here in Massachusetts of a different penality, after the testimony of such a man as Lord Brougham, that the punishment of death has always proved a failure since time began?

But, eut of a host of others, let me select one more witness. Edward Livingston,—one of the hrightest names at the American bar,—one of the holest, as well as one of the ablest and most profound and learned of American in the inquiries which he entered into, in connection with this subject, for the purpose

from the 12th page of his argument on Capital Punishment:

"Other arguments, not less forcible,—other authorities, equally respectable,—might be adduced to show the ill effects of this species of punishment; but the many topics that are still before me, in this report, oblige me to pursue this one no farther than to inquire, what good can be expected, or what good reast of the second of the punishment! Our legislation (referring to the legislation of Louisiana) surrendered it without a struggle, in all cases, at first, but murder, attempt to murder, rape, and service insurrection; and afterwards extended it to a species of aggravated burglary. Now, as

these cases are those only in which it has been deams expedient to relain this punishment—as it has been abandoed in all other—the serious inquiry presents itself, why it was related in these, or why abandoned in the other of the control of the c

As to rape, that its rare occurrence is much more properly to be attributed to the manners of the age than to any fear of the punishment annexed; for if that were the efforbant cause, we should certainly find it at least as powerful in the case of murder—a crime to which the offender is not atimulated, as in the former case, by the strongest sensual appetite."

Now, you may say, that we cannot extract a general law from so brief an experiment,—that the conclusion would be too wide for the premise, if we limited ourselves to the experience of Louisiana during that comparatively short period. It may be so; but still, for all the purposes of the argument I now address to you, it is an ample argument. You do not make laws for all time, or for a generation; your power will have exhausted itself at the end of the year in which your law is made; and if you will only dare to try the experiment of abolishing the capital penalty, for one year, if, within that year, it is found not to work well, another Legislature can restore it. Mr. Livingston then passes, for illustration, to the history of the experiment, as it has been tried in various other countries. He refers to the experience of Tuscany, to which allusion was made by Mr. Phillips. He states the comparison between Tuscany and Rome, as referred to by Dr. Franklin, which is put so well and briefly, that you will pardon me for reading that also:—

"In Tuscany, as we have seen, neither murder nor any other crime was punished with death, for more than twenty years, during which time we have not only the official declaration of the sovereign, that 'all crimes had diminished, and those of an atrocious nature had become extremely rare,' but the authority of the venerable Franklin for these conculsive facts; that in Tuscany, where murder was not punished with death, for more than the set of the wonday and religion of the concurrence of Tuscany the committed in the short space of three months, in the city and its vicinity. 'It is remarkable,' he adds to this account, 'that

gnting the history of the world and the experience of men, in order to illustrate this inquiry. It is conceded, on all baods, that it would be desirable to abolish the death penalty, if it would be sie to do so: and the question now is, are we ever to abolish it? It is said, "it will not do, because it is uneafo."—
When we argue from human nature, and the principles of human nature, and the present condition of society, why, we are met with the objection, "That is well enough, as far as it goes; it is ingenious and able, as a piece of argumentation, but what does the experience of the world show!" Then we advance om step further, and show what the experience of the world show!" Then we advance on the world proves on this subject, so far as it proves anything; and I undertake to say, that the experience of mankind comes in aid and support of the theoretical arguments drawn from the principles of human nature;—and that is the purpose for which all this testimony is introduced.

Now, gentlemen, on the one hand, those

support of the incoretical arguments arawn from the principles of human nature;—and that is the purpose for which all this testimony is introduced.

Now, gentlemen, on the one hand, those who advise the adhesion of government to the death penalty, may say that it will not do to abolish it; you must hang men; the death penalty is the true theory of government, and we must adhere to it; life for life; if a man puts another to death, he deserves to be bung; it is not rafe to allow such a man to be about. Then we interpose with the facts of history, and we are met by the saying,—"All these facts are vary well, but they do not prove that government is never to punish with death. We cannot reason to the fature from the past." It seems to me these gentlemen stand precisely in the position of the French historian, who wrote a very ingenious and agreeable book, with a view of supporting a certain theory of history which he entertained. Upon meeting with one of his critical friends, the subject of his new book was introduced, and the gentleman asked his friend—"How do you like my history?" "Well," said the critic, "it is a very beautiful, interesting book; it is a very ingenious theory of history; but somehow or other, I think your theory is not at all sustained by the facts." "Very well," replied the author, "so much the worse for the facts!" Now, I will give you some more facts, all tending to illustrate the asfety of abolition. It wil not do to say these facts are only coincidences; for how should it happen that the coincidences are all one way! They tend to prevent us from being very much afraid of trying the experiment, because they show that human life is safer without the death penalty than with it; and if Dr. Beecher will guarantee us some way of avoiding the mistakes to which judges and jurors are liable, and will restore the innocent men who have been put to death by the hand of the law, in consequence of the retention of the gallows, we will bring to life all those who shall be put to death by the hand of the

But to continue our illustration from the

facts of experience. Let up refer you to Mr. Rantoul's report, of 1836, pp. 72, 73:—

"Often, very often has it happened, that an execution has been followed on the next day, or within a few weeks, by suicides among those who witnessed the scene. It cannot be expected, therefore, that it should have any peculiar virtue to deter from crime; least of all from that crime for which it steels the breast, and braces up the nerves. Very lately, in the State of Ohio, and the day on which a man was executed for the murder of his wife, under circumstances of particular cruelty, another man, near the place of execution, murdered his wife in the same manner; and this is by no means the only instance where the crime seems to have been directly suggested by the punishment intended to prevent it. Howard tells us that in Denmark, where executions are seldom known, women guilty of child-murther were sent to the spin-houses for life, a sentence dreaded so much more than death, that since the change, the crime has been much less frequent. He also noticed the fact that in Amsterdam, there bad not been a hundred executions for a hundred years, while in London, from 1749 to 1771, there were six hundred and seventy-eight, or nearly thirty a year; yet the morals of London are certainly not improved in proportion; and the English are becoming convinced, by experience, that it is not by the prodigal waste of the blood of offenders that offences are to be checked, and least of all those high crimes springing from ungovernable passions or a depravity or stupidity beyond the reach of motives not competent to restrain lesser criminals from lesser guilt. In France, capital punishments do not diminish the number of murders, which in 1842 amounted to 267, while the average of five preceeding years was only 227. In Pennsylvania and Ohio, where murder is the only crime punished with death, the other five orimes capital among us are 'as rare as any where in Christendom. In Maine, four of these offences have cessed to be capital, with such favorab

Well, gentlemen, since that time,—within a very few years,—the number of crimes which were punishable with death in Massachusetts, when Mr. Rantoul commenced his brilliant labors upon this subject of penal reform, has been reduced down to one, so that to-day, only murder is capital in Massachusetts. Now, if the infliction of the death penalty had worked well when applied to the punishment of other offences than murder, why did we not continue it? Step by step, the world turned round, and step by step, public sentiment rose higher and higher, until at last it rose high enough to strike off from the list of capital crimes all but one—murder. And nobody asks that we should return. The Insurance Companies ask no more for insuring houses than when arson was punishable with death; nor are men any less safe on the highway than in old times, when the highway robber suffered death;—and he always was punished capitally in old times, in Massachusetts; not convicted and then pardoned, but if convicted, ha always swung for it;—yet nobody feels that his purse or his person is any less safe on the highway now than in former times; nobody asks that we should retrace our steps.

As an illustration of the effect produced upon the minds of men who have attended executions, let me mention, in passing, that the last person who was put to death in Saffolk county, for the crime of murder, (I refor to the late Professor Webster,) was, you might say, a professional adept at hangings; a man who had never, during his life, failed to embrace the opportunity of zeeing an execution. That is the testimony of those who knew him from his youth; and according to the testimony of or friend Spear,—who has for many years, in his pursuit after truth, visited every prisoner under conviction for murder, (I refor to the Death Penalty. I think he never found a man under conviction for murder, who was not an adherent of the doctrine of "blood for blood." So that, whether you test the case by inquiring into the effect of witnessing the last awful scene,

cipis, or stimulate it into action. Our proof as to Belgium are taken from the official ta-bles lately printed for the legislature—com-taining an abstract of executions and prosecu-tions for murder, every five years—commend-ing with the beginning of the year 1800.— Here they are:

BELGIUM. Total convicted for various convicted for various convicted for various convicted for various convicted convicted for various various convicted for various various convicted for various various various convicted for various various various various convicted for various var

Let me resmark here, Mr. Chairman, while on this one point, that the spectacle of capital punishment either infuses into the mind of man the spirit of murder, or stimulates it into activity. Every man who, from any low motive, goes to witness an execution, gos in the spirit of a murderer. Every man who witnesses an execution, when he need not, goes there in the spirit of a murderer,—unconsciously, perhaps, to hisself, but still truly. Why does he go!—way does he go!—way does he go!—way does he go!—way does he go! That he may excite himself, as in the last act of a tragedy, by beholding the dying agonies of a heighest fellow mortal? Does the covenant with Noah compel him to go there!—Nobody pretends it. Does the hirteenth chapter of Romans enjoin him, by an apostolical precept!—Nobody was ever mad enough to precept!—Nobody was ever med enough to precept in the same present in the process of the palment of the law should refuse to provide a law refuse to provide a law of the law should refuse to precept enough the law of the law should refuse to precept enough the law of the law should refuse to precept enough the law of the law should refuse to the law should refuse to

offences against the person, such as felonious assaults with deadly weapons, and assaults with intent to kill, and MUNDERS, also, judg-ing from our jail records, have all risen like a harvested from the seed of that one exe

with intent to kill, and MUNDERS, also, judging from our jail records, have all risen like a crop harvested from the sced of that one execution.

"It is said that executions tend to prevent crime. To test this assertion, I have procured a statement from the Deputy Jailor of Suffolk, of the commitments there for such crimes for the six months preceding, and the six months succeeding, the execution of Goode; and I find that during the six months ending with the execution of Goode, and I find that during the six months ending with the execution of Goode, and in the very community which witnessed his execution, four persons were committed for felonious assaults, one for murder, (who was convicted of mansianghter, and sentenced to five years in the State Prison;) one for rape, (who was convicted of a milder offence only, and sent six months to the House of Correction;) and that two hundred and fifty-six persons were committed for simple assault and battery; and I find that in the following six months, eight persons were committed for felonious assaults; three for rape; one for murder, a colored man, (under circumstances almost identical with the case of Goode;) and three hundred and forty-five for assault and battery. Some of these are still awaiting their trials. Others have been connected."

You may call these coincidences, if you please; but they are facts. Crimes of violence against the person more than doubled, when you compare the six months succeeding. How does it happon! If we were not to say that the execution of Washington Goode had any thing whatever to do with this increase of crime, it is perfectly elear that his execution did not prevent that result; and therefore your law of punishing crime by the death penalty is not one which seems to succeed. We invite you to a change. If you refuse, my easy we not turn the tables upon our oppopens and ask them to bring back those whom the gallows will have been the means of sending to an untimely grave, whether by the hands of the hangman or by the hand of the ass

But let me return again to Mr. Taylor. I was referring you to the 92d and 93d pages, when I commenced this digression. He gave the experience of Belgium; and he remarks, at the foot of thestable—

"The above table clearly shows that we do not advance an unsupported theory when we state that laws which make spectacles of judicial homicide familiar to the people, have a natural tradency to increase the crime of marder. We see their crime decreasing as executions decreased, during a course of 35 years, there being in the first five years of that period 235 executions, and 150 convicted of murder; while in the last five years, in which there were no executions, the number of convictions of murder amounted to 20 only. M. d. Brocekere has, then, another motive besigned that of mere humanity in preventing executions.

ere is to prevent the increase of the crime of marder, by preventing the renewal of those judicial examples which have a tendency to efface from the mind of the people that in-stinctive repugnance to taking human life, which Hz who has given that life has implant-ed in the heart of man."

That is the experience of Belgium, in the showing of their governmental reports.

On page 120 of Mr. Taylor's work, you will find still further statistics:—

"The crime of marder is the only one now punished with deeth in Prassia. Would we could say so of England!

"To show the gradual amelioration of the law as to executions even for murder, said along with it the gradual diminution of the crime itself, let us take a period of 15 years, ending with last year, [1834.] and divide it into periods of five years eveh. It will be found that, in the fixer period of five years, the total number of executions in Prussia was 54, and the convictions for murder 69. In the second period the succeitons were only 19, and the convictions for murder 50. In the third period the executions were only 19, and the convictions for murder diminished to 43. We showed on a former occasion that the gradual diminution of capital punishments in Belgium, and their practical abolition during the last five years, have been attended also with a remarkable reduction in the amount of crime: so unnocessary are capital punishments proved to be for the protection of society. Unnecessary, did we say!—they are worse than useless; for where they are most prevalent, crime most abounds. Why is it that the despote government of Prussia is more tender of shedding the blood of its subjects than the Constitutional government of free and enlightened England?

"Now, let us take for England (and Wales) 21 years ending with last year, and divided into periods of seven years each—we are obliged to taske those periods instead of five years, because they are the periods fixed upon in the Parliamentary Returns—what are the realist. In the five seven years, we find that the number of executions for various offences.

"But, does it not reflect deep disgrace on the rulers of the English nation, that the enforcement of the laws which are intended to repress crime should be so sanguinary compared with the practical application of the laws of Prussia; Zoo offences.

"But, does it not reflect deep disgrace on the rulers of the English nation, that the enforcement of the laws which are intended to represacing should be so sang

that the great efficacy of criminal law is in its extirminating examples!"

Say that here again are only curious coincidences, if you will; but how do the coincidences happen to be all on one side! Whether you go to one country or another,—whether to the continent of Europe or to Eugland,—to the islands or the main land,—whether you take the Eastern States or the Western States of our country, you always find the same coincidences, on the same side; all tending to what we allege to be that law, more authoritative and more certain than any mere human enactment,—the law written in the nature of man.

Now, in respect to the questions put by Dr.

tative and more certain than any mere human enactment,—the law writter, in the nature of man.

Now, in respect to the questions put by Dr. Beecher, we will pause a moment over the statistics of Mr. Rantoul. I will quote, not from Mr. Hamilton's book, containing his collected writings and speeches, but, for the convenience of the Committee, from the able and elaborate report made by Francis W. Bird, Esq., to the House of Representatives, in 1848, (House Document 196.) If you turn to the Appendix to that Report, you will find the papers alluded to, embracing a series of statistics, most carefully prepared. Without undertaking to tire you with any extended reading of the facts and figures, I will simply state, that you will perceive they illustrate the truth of this proposition, viz: that the number of crimes against the person, and the crime of murder, proportionately increase as executions increase, and diminish as executions diminish.

But the learned and reverend gentleman at your right (Rev. Dr. Beecher) asked for some evidence in regard to the experience of Massachusetts. It lies before you, and I pray you to regard it:—

"Before proceeding farther in our examination of the administration of criminal justice in other countries, I will furnish complete statistics of the death penalties in this Commonwealth since the adoption of the constitution, October, 1780.

"As there has been no capital conviction since the present year commenced, these tables are now published for the first time; and they are the more valuable, because there are none covering so long a space, for any other State of our Union, or, indeed, for any other State of our Union, or, indeed, for any other State of our Union, or, indeed, for any other State of our Union, or, indeed, for any other State of our Union, or, indeed, for any other State of our Union, or, indeed, for any other State of our Union, or, indeed, for any other State of our Union, or, indeed, for any other State of our Union, or, indeed, for any other State of our Union, or, i

"Convictions for capital crimes in Massa chusetts, from Oct., 1780, to 1845 inclusive

Treason 0 0 0 2 14 16

Crimes. Fx. Di-d Com. Par. Total. In Prison. 0 0 2 0 6

Burglary, 16 0 3 2 21

Highway Rob. 9 0 0 0 0 0 8

Marder, 23 2 7 5 37

Privacy, 1 0 0 0 1 1 8

Rape, 6 0 1 1 8

Treason 0 0 2 14 16

"Of 101 convictions, there have been 61 executions, or 60 per cont. For treason, there has, fortunately, been no capital punishment, neither in this State, nor in any other State of the Union; but for the other orimes included in this catalogue, the punishment has been much more uniformly inflicted after conviction, than in meat countries of the Oid World. The proportion of the executions to convictions, is, for each offence, as follows:—

s, is, for each offence, as follows:—

Piracy, 100 per cent.

Highway Robbery, 100 "

Robbery, 66 "

Or all robberies, 92 "

Burglary, 76 "

Rape, 75 "

Arson, 66 "

Murder, 62 "

Treason, 0 "

Arson, 62 "
Murder, 62 "
Treason, 0 "
Treason, 0 "
Treason, 62 "
Treason, 62 "

All off-nees, 60 "
Excluding treason, for all other offences, about 72 per cent."

Thus you find, that of all the offences that have been punished capitally in Massachusetts for the last sixty-five years, the murderers have come off the easiest, showing clearly that the government, although always disposed to inflict the capital penalty, when sentence has been passed, if the good of society seemed to demand it, has found that, of the several classes, thore who had committed murder have furnished the largest proportion able to present the sufficient reasons for the merciful interposition of the Executive. Perhaps, after all, the murderer may not, necessarily, belong to the worst class of men. The crime is a dreadful one—but is not always proof of the greatest depravity. But let us proceed:

"This storn and unrelenting rigor in the executive is not witnessed elsewhere in Christendom, certainly not in any civilized portion of it. In England, whose government we justly denounce as anguinary, in 21 years from 1813, there were convicted for murder, 877; executed, 123; executed, 116, or 52 per cent. For rape, and unnatural crimes, convicted, 221; executed, 523, or 40 per cent.

"In France, in eight years, ending in 1832, the convictions were, for murders of the different classes, highway robbery, and arson, 1,129, and the executions, for all crimes, were only 537, or 47 per cent. For the next three years, the executions were, for murders of the different classes, highway robbery, and arson, 1,129, and the executions were, for murders of the different classes, highway robbery, and arson, 1,129, and the executions were for murder, 102, of whom were executed 89, or 55 per cent.

"In Prassia, in 15 years, ending in 1834, there were convicted for murder, 102, of whom were executed 89, or 55 per cent.

"In Pagisum, in the 29 years ending in 1834, there were convicted for murder, 102, of whom were executed 89, or 55 per cent.

"In Pagisum, in the

In Saxony, in 29 years ending in 1835, there were 134 capital convictions for murder, aron, robbery, and rape; and 36 executions, or nearly 27 per cent.

In England, France, Prussia, Belgrum, and Saxony, as well as many other nations that might be mentioned, where the properties of executions to convictionsis much smaller than in Massachusetts, and much smaller than fifty years ago in the same countries in which executions are scarcely known; slightly in France, where the change of policy was not so great; while in England, down to about 1835, murders and attempts to murder increased, since which, under a milder admiratration of the law, there has been a change for the letter.

increased. since which, under a milder administration of the law, there has been a change for the bitter.

"In Massachusetts, with less executive elemency than in any other state, or nation, of which I have read, for the mineteenth century, murder seems to have increased. For, if we divide our period of sixty-five years into three periods of twonty years each, and place by itself the last period of five years, we have the following result:

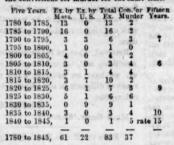
"From 1780 to 1800, convictions for murder, I in 20 years; from 1800 to 1820, 12 in 20 years; from 1800 to 1820, 12 in 20 years; from 1810 to 1845, 5 in 5 years; or at the rate of 20 in 20 years.

"Convictions for murder, then, are about three times as frequent as they were fifty years ago, not withstanding the constantly increasing difficulty in obtaining convictions, (a fact felt by every one.) in twithstanding greater temperance, better education, and the diminution of the crime of murder in almost every country in Christendom.

"Although it has appeared, wherever the experiment has been tried, that frequent executions are followed by frequent murders, and, on the contrary, when executions seldom occur, murders soon become very rare, yet, so strong is prejudice, that the lesson must be a thousand times repeated before men will cease to deny its truth. Let us see, then, how far our experience corroborates the inferences drawn from the experiment of Belgium.

To obtain the total number of executions in Massachusetts, I shall add, to those under the laws of the State, those within our limits under the authority of the United States, and compare the total, for each five years, with the convictions for murder for the same time.

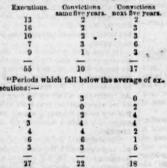
Five Years. Ex. by Ex. by Tetal Con. or Fivern.



1780 to 1845, 61 22 83 37

"The average number of executions for each period of five years is 6.4. Take, then, all the periods in which the executions exceeded this average, and see whether more murders were, or were not, proved to have been committed in the periods immediately succeeding. Then make, also, the same comparison for all those periods in which the number of executions falls below the average.

"Total executions in Massachusetts, in each period in which the number exceeded the average, with the convictions for murder, for the same, and for the succeeding five years:—



"If, in this second series, the 22 convictions had increased in the same proportion as the loi in the first series, the result would have been 37 convictions, or more than double the 18 which actually occurred. But they should have increased in a much greater ratio than in the fir t series, if the absence of the terror of the death-penalty multiplies murders; for the executions in the first series are 11 for every five years, while, in the second series, they are only 2.8 for every five years, about one third the former average.

"These facts do not encourage us to persevere in the experiment of Death."

It is a remarkable fact, that we are asked to adhere to the code of blood which we have administered with a consistency not equalled in any other country on the globe, with no more hopful consequences than these. Yet we are asked to adhere to it,—and when we challenge your judgment, by all these facts which each nation has multiplied into those of the other, the experience of each tested by the experience of the other—we are met by the reply that Cain and Lamech were permitted to live—and that the flood was the consequence!!!

But—to pass on in our research—let us interrogate those States of our own Union which have abolished the capital penalty—for I can

But—to pass on in our research—let us interrogate those States of our own Union which have abolished the capital penalty—for I can only hurry on, and leave the remaining mass of statistics for your own perusal. Alabama abolished it quite a number of years ago for white men—they do not hang white men in Alabama—have not for a great while; it does not appear that white men are now anxious to be hung; nor to hang each other. They do not ask the re-establishment of the gallows. The experiment may be assumed to work well in Alabama; and I hope that God will hasten the day when equal justice and equal mercy may be extended with impartial hand, through the whole brotherhood of universal humanity.

Then, in the State of Michigan, which led the way in the total abolition of the penal ecde, the experiment has succeeded; and I now present to you, by the kindness of Mr. Fay, (Frank B.) the testimony of her Secretary of State:—

(Frank B.) the testimony of her Secretary of State:—

"You will find on page 658, Revised Statutes of 1846, of this State, (a copy of which should be found in your State Library.) the law in regard to the crime of murder. The effect, we think salutary. It has produced a greater certainty of conviction, and consequently of relief to community, besides lessening the number of aggravated offences. It is, at least, so considered here.

These is no probability of a return to the old law. But one paper in the State has spoken of a return, within the last two years, and this met with no response.

I am very truly and respectfully yours, JOHN McKINNEY, Sec'y of State."

That is the result of the experiment of mase.

Section McKINNEY,
Secty of State."
That is the result of the experiment of nine years in Michigan. Are you afraid to try it one year in Massachusetts!

I hold in my hand an extract from a letter from Hon. T. R. Hazard, of Rhode Island, which says:—

years in Michigan. Are you alraid to try it easy year in Massachusetts?

I hold in my hand an extract from a letter from Hon. T. R. Hanard, of Rhode Island, which say:—

"At the time of the passage of the law, which was in the winter of '51-2, I believe there were pending before the Court of Providence County, no less than six indictments for murder. Since its passage, I do not remember that there has been more than one indictment for murder, in the State, in the first degree, and that was for the killing of a police officer, in Providence, under circumstances that would, without much doubt, have insured the acquittal of the murderer under the old severe law; but he is now confined for life in the States Prison."

He states, also, that the General Assembly have twice refused to re-enact the law,—last winter the motion being made in the Senate, and receiving but saven out of thrity votes. This, he says, is an encouraging indication of public sentiment, when we reflect that the Act abolishing capital punishment passed the Senate by only four majority.

"Stree out of thrity," after two or three years' trial. Now, gentlemen, try it here, and see how many votes you will got next year for a return to the gallows.

The State of Maine comes next in review. And here is a letter to Mr. Fay, from Prof. Upham, of Bowdoin College,—my old instructor and friend,—whose life illustrates all that is beautiful in the human character,—a careful and learned reholar, an honest thinker, and, I might any, by profession, a philosopher. This is the experience of Maine, as testified to by Prof. Upham, under date of Feb. 14, 1855:

"It is now twenty years since the Maine Law on this subject was introduced here. There has been no infliction of capital punishment aunderstood to be practically abolished, and I have heard no wish from any quarter to restore it."

Allow me, gentlemen, to add the argument or illustration which I presented the other day in the very brief remarks I had the honor t

offer to the Committee. We have the row and best test possible of the rafety of this rate periment,—if it is an experiment,—when we treat men. We find that it raver come any more to insure human life in a country casus where capital punishment he board and where capital punishment has been adequated than it cost while it remained. It cannot in fairness be alleged, that there is any danger at all, felt by practical men; and therefore it cannot be fairness and there is any danger at all, it causes a danger which cannot be fair because a danger which cannot be fairness. And I do not believe you will be freightened by a mere phantom of the self-free capital matches. rightened by a mere phantom of the bush from trying the experiment of the abelian on the punishment, when you find that it and that it are they do not hamp, than in New You where capital punishment still continued that it costs no more to insure and as a sea the the data of the of an imaginary line than the other capital punishment still continued that it costs no more to insure and capital punishment still continued that it costs no more to insure and capital that it costs no more to insure and as a sea the data of the time of time of

these solemn circumstances,—at that moment—the man, apparently pea subdued, trusting in the Divine for and mercy for his hope of hereafte earnest solemnity, adhered to the con-severation, that he was innocent—"I.

I myself, Mr. Chairman, have aided the application for pardon of two persons certain; who had been convicted and sentenced to the State Prison for life for crimes which, the Mr. Rantoul commenced his exertions in the Mrs. Rantoul commenced his exertions in the few years, were capital. These persons was pardoned; and they were pardoned because the Governor and Council were well satisfied from the evidence before them that they were innocent men. One of these persons, who was an elderly man, I have been able to follow for some considerable period since his discharge, and everything connected with the history of the man since his departure for the State Prison, tends to confirm all who have him in the belief that he was erroseously convicted. Yet, these two men would have rotted in a fellon's grave, had it not been for the abolition of the punishment of death, as applied to the class of cases under which they were convicted.

Who does not know, who has any anguistance or connection with the administration of the laws the the history does not faint one. I myself, Mr. Chairman, have aided the a

tance or connection with the administration the law, that the right does not always per the law, that the right does not away re-vali? As Lord Elden said—"You mat has a very good Judge, a very intelligat lay, and you must have accurate, industries, sile counsel, and plenty of proof, and then, if you have good luck, you may prevail."

I have by my side, and intended to rist you to, did time permit, several case of the execution of innecent men. Yet will side them in O'Sallivan's Report, page 117, asin the following pages, where the preof it gims of one hundred innecent percent is Regardent who had been hung for capital offence. I have in my hand a letter from a gentlema is California, giving a long and most intentialy account of a conviction for murder them, quite recently, where the party convicted came to the verge of execution, when it was list discovered that he had been convicted ya mistake of personal identity—very cimilar to that which occurred, you will remember, in womany persons have been convicted of murder on ovidence not so strong—not activeny—with a conviction of the convict of the convert of I have by my side, and intended to refer

How many are they who sleep in oblivious the victims of what their fellow men miled justice?

You will find, gentlemen, in Mr. Sparis book, pages 76 to 87, several more illustration of the danger of trueting to fallible mine the solema decision of the life or death of a fellow creature. I need not detail these cerival will find them yourselves. One more eigenstance only let me advert to. Formerly, the executioner stood boldly up and seised he bloody axe in his red right hand. Now, should be seen that the seaffold; somebody goes into the jail and the victim; two or three others take him between them, and they march to the seaffold; somebody else adjusts the faisl and him between them, and they march to the seaffold; somebody else adjusts the faisl and him between them, and they march to the seaffold; somebody else adjusts the faisl and him between them, and they march to the seaffold; somebody else adjusts the faisl and him to be seaffold; somebody else puts him in the position in which the act may be consummated and at last, so far have we refined, that so man's heard perpetrates the last act which results in a felon's death. No, sir, the Sherif leaves him as he stands there, and by a comming device, the machinery is so adjusted, this foot, in the natural course of his retrailmant to the seafford of the s